The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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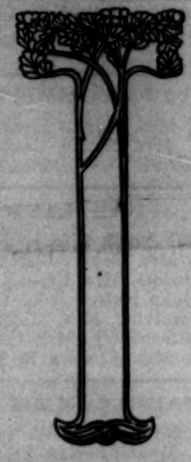
No. 3

HEARING BEFORE RULES COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON DECEMBER 4, 1913

STATEMENTS OF 19 SPEAKERS

EXCERPTS FROM "POPULAR GOVERNMENT," WRITTEN BY WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

JANUARY
1914



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It is amusing to hear the Feminists declaiming about the evolution of the free woman. What we are really approaching is the era of the free man.

(SUFFRAGE SAYINGS)

"THE right to bear a child, perhaps the most sacred of all woman's rights, is not one which should have any conditions attached to it, save in the interests of race welfare. There are many women of admirable character who find the concession of conjugal rights to any person under any conditions intolerable to their self-respect. * * * Why should a husband be imposed on these women as the price of maternity?"—G. B. SHAW.

"Marriage is the result of children, not children of marriage."—WESTERMARCHS in "History of Marriage."

"It is a mistake to believe that the baby any more than the older child, needs the direct care and presence of the mother. Careful experiment has shown that a newborn baby does not know its own mother, and a new-made mother does not know her own baby."—MRS. C. P. GILMAN in "Woman and Economics."

(To this we would reply that it is highly desirable that they should be made acquainted.—EDITOR.)

"Home is the girl's prison and the woman's workhouse."—G. B. SHAW.

"The home is the enemy of woman. Purporting to be her protector, it is her oppressor. It is her fortress, but she does not live in the state apartments, she lives in the dungeon."—W. L. GEORGE in "Woman and To-morrow."

(ANTI-SUFFRAGE COMMENT)

As soon as men are convinced that the average woman has no sympathy with feminism, they seem willing to give the ballot to women. Anti-suffragists do not thank them, however, for solving the problem by evading the responsibility in that manner. It is neither right nor just that all women should be burdened with heavy duties because men see a way of gratifying the special pleaders and at the same time avoiding danger. Most women don't want the ballot and they regret the new exhibition of how easily politicians are persuaded or bullied by some woman, especially where their own interests are not much at stake—for they know quite well how they will be able to manipulate the votes of women. We have already had examples of that.

WOMAN BOUND

(Apologies to Leigh Hunt)

T'other day as I was shouting,
"Ballots," for the power of routing,
What of all things, blithe and gay,
Should I light on in my way,
But the horrid thing himself,
That worst of monsters, Man with Pelf.
For his sins I held him up,
"Cards and women, song and cup,"
Long on scorn and hate I
Fed him.
Then what d'ye think I did?
Faith, I thought him cowed!
Not he!
For he rules with wicked glee.
But woe is me, of *all* my ills,
The *worst* is this,
He pays my bills!

ANDRADE.

"For the same reason that I think personal allusions reprehensible I should condemn any, even the remotest references to party or political transactions and disputes. These are at all times unfit objects not only of discussion in the pulpit, but of hints and surmises. The Christian preacher has no other province than that of religion and morality."—WILLIAM PALEY (great Anglican Divine).

"The women, womanly in their innermost depths, who really feel free only when they give themselves, are becoming continually more rare, but where such a wholly devoted woman exists she is the highest type which any country has produced."

—ELLEN KEY.

Lord Curzon, who is now President of the English Anti-Suffrage Association, opened the hotel for women erected in memory of his late wife on November 22.

Lord Curzon said that during her short life she endeavored to do her best to alleviate the lot of women. When she died he was anxious for the creation of some memorial appropriate to her life and character—a living and warm memorial, more durable than marble or brass. He was anxious that it should be in London, and in a fortunate moment the Duchess of Marlborough, who had been a great friend of his wife and possessed deep and sympathetic knowledge of the needs of women in London, co-operated.

(From *Washington Post*, Dec. 9, 1913.)

Votes for children as well as votes for women was the plea made by Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, wife of the Assistant Secretary of Labor, last night in an address before the Woman's Single Tax Club, of the District of Columbia, at the Public Library.

"The individual soul is the ultimate social unit," said Mrs. Post. "Male or female, old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, the individual is the citizen. The rule should be: One citizen, one vote."

One family, one vote, has been the rule, Mrs. Post pointed out. While the family has been the social unit in the past, it is coming to be recognized, Mrs. Post said, that since men and women both contribute their part to society's make-up, each should be equally considered. The children as an important factor of the group, she declared, should also have due consideration.

"It might be found well to let children vote as soon as they are old enough to take a serious interest in the process," Mrs. Post declared.

"If a boy or a girl of 12 or 14 years of age is bright enough to go into a booth and make out the ballot, he or she should have that privilege. The boy who had a vote would not look upon the corner policeman as his natural enemy. The sense of responsibility that would come with the exercise of the suffrage by boys would go a long way toward breaking up the hoodlum gangs of our cities and doubtless would save many a boy from a life of crime."

(From the New York *Evening Sun*.)

"Votes for children" is now being urged by a prominent woman in Washington. By all means. Then for horses and chickens. We aren't proud.

The French Chamber has rejected the measure to confer suffrage upon men and women in France by an adverse vote of 311 to 133.

(*Boston Traveler and Evening Herald*, December 9, 1913.)

Yesterday a woman telephoned to a campaign assistant of John A. Deery, a candidate for school committee in to-day's election at Salem:

"Please send an auto for me to-morrow," she said, "and I'll vote for Mr. Deery, but you must also send a woman to mind the baby while I am at the polls."

There is much talk these days of a "single standard" of morality. The extreme Socialists say they want the single standard to be man's. It is unquestionable that some Suffragists at least want it to be woman's. We Anti-suffragists would like to change the phrase to the "Christian standard," about which there can be no question.

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Treasurer, Mrs. Robert Garrett..Roland Park, Baltimore

Vol. IV. January, 1914 No. 3

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

HEARING ON THE QUESTION OF A HOUSE SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE

The hearing before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington on the question of woman suffrage was longer than was expected and practically covered the arguments pro and con. The suffragists gave their side on Wednesday morning, December third. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage presented their arguments on the morning and afternoon of Thursday, December fourth. In addition to the full list of speakers which is given below, Miss Annie Bock of California spoke by special request at the close of the morning session, and at the end of the afternoon session, Mr. Everett P. Wheeler gave the legal and constitutional arguments against the recommendation of a special suffrage committee.

On Friday morning the Guidon Club was represented by Mrs. William Forse Scott and Mr. J. C. Ten Eyck and Mr. and Mrs. Rossiter Johnson, who were followed by a speech by the Hon. Thomas J. Heflin, Congressman from Alabama. The afternoon of Friday was given to the suffrage speakers in rebuttal.

The Suffrage Convention was held in Washington during the entire week and suffragists crowded both the hearing and the rebuttal for their side. Possibly to their surprise the room was equally crowded by the anti-suffragists during the hearing of the opposition. Not only were there hundreds of men and women residents of Washington, but 150 women came in special cars from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and neighboring states. Among these were women who represented active work along all kinds of educational, philanthropic, civic and municipal lines, and a large number of professional and self-supporting women, including wage-earners. Perhaps a more representative group of women had never been gathered at any hearing at the Capitol. There is no doubt but that the speakers on our side of the question made a profound impression, not only on the Committee who listened with the greatest courtesy and attention, but on the large audience and the representatives of the press.

The President of the National Association, who conducted the hearing, found that the frequent applause was taking too much of the limited time, and requested that the audience should refrain from all applause except at the end of the speeches.

The contingent from New Jersey, which was especially strong, requested an audience with the President, not as anti-suffragists, but as representing women from his own state, but owing to illness it was impossible for the President to grant this.

Owing to the recess taken by Congress, the question of the special suffrage committee will not be considered by the Committee on Rules until after January fifteenth.

Full reports of both sides of the hearing will be printed by Congress and can be obtained at the office of the National Association. In this number are given the statements, slightly abridged, of the speakers who represented the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

SPEAKERS BEFORE RULES COMMITTEE

List of speakers of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives, December 4, 1913:

Miss Alice Hill Chittenden,
President of the N. Y. State Association.

Mrs. Robert Garrett,
President of the Maryland Association.

Mrs. H. E. Talbott,
President Ohio Association.

Miss Minnie Bronson,
General Secretary of the National Association.

Miss Emily P. Bissell,
President Delaware Tuberculosis Society, Vice-President State Consumer's League. Introduced Red Cross Christmas Seal in United States.

Mrs. A. J. George,
Field Secretary Massachusetts Association.

Mr. Charles L. Underhill,
Men's Anti-Suffrage League of Massachusetts.

Mrs. O. D. Oliphant,
Secretary New Jersey Association.

Miss Alice Edith Abell,
President Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League of New York.

Miss Alice Buck,
Factory Worker, Trenton, N. J.

Mrs. John Balch,
Of Massachusetts. Letter from Miss Elizabeth McCracken.

Miss Ella C. Brehaut,
Vice-President Association District of Columbia.

Miss Lucy J. Price,
Secretary Cleveland Auxiliary, Ohio Association.

Miss Julia Morgan Harding,
President Pittsburgh Association.

Miss Emmilinne Pitt,
Associate Editor *Metal Trades Review*, Pittsburgh.

Mrs. Frank Goodwin,
Former President Association District of Columbia.

Miss Eliza D. Armstrong,
Pittsburgh, many years Hon. President West Pennsylvania Consumer's League, 52 years of work in civic betterment.

*Letter from Mr. J. G. Pyle of St. Paul, Minn.,
Read by Mr. Harris of the Pennsylvania Men's Anti-Suffrage League.

Miss Ella Dorsey,
Vice-President Association District of Columbia.

(*Letter of Mr. Pyle was printed in the December number of The Woman's Protest.)

After the National Hearing was completed Mr. Everett P. Wheeler spoke before the committee in behalf of the New York Men's Anti-Suffrage Association. Copies of his brief can be obtained in pamphlet form from the office of the National Association.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in introducing the speakers, said:

Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

We appear before you to-day to protest against the formation of a committee on woman suffrage. It has been intimated to us that the Committee would welcome any evidence which goes to show that there is not a popular demand which would warrant the appointment of the special committee, an appointment which would give encouragement to the suffragist propaganda.

It is unnecessary to deal with the question of constitutional precedent, but the arguments which will be submitted will seek to show that woman suffrage is inexpedient and because it is inexpedient the appointment of the committee on woman suffrage is not warranted.

The suffragists have appeared before Congress since 1874 and have had thirty-four hearings. Thirteen years ago, we made the first protest of organized women against woman suffrage. With a great effort we persuaded nine women to appear, all of whom are now alive and vigorous anti-suffragists, and seven of whom are present at this hearing. In contrast to these nine pioneers of thirteen years ago, coming from but two small organizations, we, to-day on the occasion of our fourth hearing against woman suffrage, represent sixteen state organizations and nearly ninety thousand organized women, all over voting age.

This is the more remarkable, I think, because these are the type of women who naturally are reluctant to organize.

Why New York State Opposes Federal Amendment

MISS ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN

WE appear before your honorable committee this morning to ask you not to recommend the appointment of an equal suffrage committee of the House of Representatives, and we base our opposition to the formation of such a committee on the ground that the question of suffrage does not come within the jurisdiction of the National Congress. The Federal Constitution leaves the regulation of the suffrage to the states themselves, and this is a very wise provision, since each state has its own peculiar problems and conditions to meet. The great Empire State, which I represent, has the acute problem of a large alien population, a problem that is scarcely known in some of our far western states. There are, for instance, 2,257,000 females over 21 years old in New York State. Of these only about 900,000 are white women of native parentage, while over a million are foreign born. Over 700,000 are white of foreign or mixed parentage, and about 49,000 are negroes. That, gentlemen, is the problem that confronts the voters of New York State, the question of adding this vast number of alien votes to our present electorate of nearly 3,000,000, and we claim that it is not a question to be determined for New York State by the legislatures of thirty-six other states, which might possibly vote for a Federal Constitutional amendment to extend the suffrage to all the women in all the states. It is obvious, however, that at a meeting of this kind the discussion cannot be confined to this one point, and therefore we take the opportunity, as Mrs. Dodge has said, of presenting to you some of the fundamental objections to this proposition of extending the suffrage to women.

Generally speaking, the whole question of vesting women with political responsibility is erroneously associated in the minds of many with the other changes which have taken place in woman's position during the past half century. But there is a vast difference between the civil rights which women have obtained during this period and political responsibility which it is now proposed to impose upon all the women of this country. Under the old common law, which we inherited from England, women suffered from many legal disabilities, but these have been removed by legislation until in many of the states women's legal privileges are better than those enjoyed by men. The movement for a higher education for women followed in very close sequence after the change in their legal status, and to-day women in this country have every opportunity open to them in every line that is open to men. The professions are open to women, and there is practically no industry which they may not enter, no occupation in which they may not engage. Now it may be said that all these changes have been met by opposition and that therefore there is nothing unique in the anti-suffrage movement to-day. But there was never any concerted effort against the higher education of woman; there was never any organized effort to prevent her entering the professions or industries, because all of these changes have simply been an extension of woman's civil and personal rights. They have been, in fact, in the natural line of her development. But personal freedom has little or nothing whatever to do with sovereign authority. The extension of suffrage to women does not mean the extension of another right to the individual woman; it means the imposition of political responsibilities upon all women in addition to those they already have. There is, therefore, a distinct line of cleavage which we anti-suffragists recognize between what has been the natural development of the individual woman's personal rights and the question of the imposition of political responsibilities upon all women. The present position of woman has been obtained without the ballot. If it were known to-morrow that no woman would ever vote outside of the states where women already have the franchise, not a single activity in which they are now engaged would be lessened; they would not be excluded from any university or college, or kept out of the professions or industries.

Those of us who appear before you to-day are not women who sit by the fireside with our knitting or spinning in the twilight of a past generation. We are not drones or parasites or shirks, as is sometimes said. We feel the great heart-throbs of the world around us. We are conscious of the great problems of this age and generation which press upon us from all sides. Most of us are serving upon boards of philanthropy or social welfare which deal directly with these problems, and as we study into them we find that many of them are due to the relentlessness of the modern industrial and economic

conditions, which have forced so many women out of the home into the world of industry as man's competitor. Despite all that is said of the glory of economic independence for women, every thoughtful person recognizes a woman's limitations when it comes to competing in the same lines of activity with men. This was distinctly recognized some years ago when the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its famous decisions, declaring in the Oregon case that a law limiting the hours a woman might be legally employed was constitutional on the ground that, as the mother of the race, she had a right to such protection which the man working by her side did not possess. Women may chafe and fret under these limitations. They may declare that they are forced to live under man-made laws which hamper their freedom and independence, but it is the God-made law which is their real grievance, and we might as well try to stop the stars in their courses as to change the immutable physiological laws of nature.

There has recently been held in the City of Washington a Conservation Congress. We are told that we must conserve our waterways, our forests, our mines, in order that this generation, as well as the generations to follow, may share in the benefits to be derived from those resources. We are told that we must conserve the life of the workingman by safeguarding him at his work; we are told that we must safeguard the life of the children by supplying them with pure milk. Conservation is the watchword of the hour, and we anti-suffragists are true conservationists. We seek to conserve woman's present valuable position in the community as a non-partisan citizen. Give her the ballot and she will of necessity ally herself with one party or the other and thus become but another spoke in the wheel of our political machinery. We seek to conserve the American home and family life; not the home of our forefathers where the thrifty housewife did the spinning and weaving and engaged in countless other occupations, but the home where woman is still the "very pulse of the machine"; the home where the weary and lonely ones in the world may come for refreshment and comfort. We seek to conserve all that is noblest and best in true womanhood. We stand for an education and training which will develop woman so that she will be more and more man's companion and helpmeet, not his rival and competitor. Believing that the conservation of energies strengthens one's force, while diffusion weakens them, we deplore the way in which woman's energies are being wasted and diffused in so many channels and activities to-day and therefore we stand, gentlemen, for the conservation of woman's strength and forces that she may the better perform the great task that has been given her to do in the world. (Applause.)

Maryland Woman Pleads for State's Rights

MRS. ROBERT GARRETT

IT is my privilege this morning to be the mouthpiece of several hundreds of people in the state of Maryland. I come to put before you Maryland's plea and Maryland's protest against any Federal enactment in regard to woman suffrage. We have had this agitation in Maryland for some forty years and it has been kept alive by a group of very active, very earnest, very zealous, and—to my mind—very mistaken women. It is headed by a woman who is not a Maryland woman, who does not get our more Southern point of view, who does not see the position of Maryland as we women and men of the state do. I feel, therefore, that she is hardly competent to put in a claim for Maryland men and Maryland women.

The argument of the suffragists with us is that it has been quite impossible, and ever will be impossible, for women to count for anything in the state until they have the ballot. That has been freely told and alluded to again and again. We are told that it is useless to be interested in the babies of the state so long as we have not the ballot. We are told that it avails nothing to have a tuberculosis union so long as we have not the ballot. We are told that the position of woman in industry can never be helped so long as we have not the ballot. All that sounds very plausible and it has brought a number of women to believe that therefore women must have the ballot, but the vast majority of Maryland women and Maryland men do not heed this at all. We have been working in Maryland for years with astonishing results which you will find it hard to equal. We have a ten-hour law for women; we have an excellent child labor law for children; we have reduced the death rate among infants 60 per cent. in the last twenty-five years. All this, gentlemen of the Committee, without the ballot. The men and women in Maryland have been working side by side and will continue to work side by side despite the claims of the suffragists, for we have been getting results. It has been my peculiar privilege to be thrown in contact with a number of social workers of Maryland. Their work has gone on daily unhampered and with great growth; and in connection with this anti-suffragist movement, I have talked with men and women, doctors, lawyers, saleswomen, stenographers, laborers and people in every class and condition. The sentiment in Maryland is universally opposed to woman suffrage, and therefore as a Marylander I feel it would be not only dangerous, but utterly unjust for the Federal Government to inflict upon Maryland woman suffrage, for which it has no desire, and which the women of Maryland feel will distinctly hamper them. You know perfectly well in your political careers that if you are a Democrat, Republicans do not come to you; and if you are a Republican the Democrats do not come to you, because you are political antagonists. That is not true of us women. We all come to you whenever we want anything. We have no regard whether you are a Democrat, no regard whether you are a Republican, no regard whether you are a Progressive. It means enough to us that you are the men who can do something for us. We are all women and can be absolutely impartial. We have no ambition for position or aggrandizement, or for the power that comes with the ballot. We believe that it would be absolutely a hindrance, a block in our path, and in behalf of Maryland I come to you to protest against the enactment of a law for the submission of an amendment to the Constitution, for it is absolutely not wanted and it will work more injury to Maryland than anything that has happened to her in years.

Ohio Proves Only 3% Favor Woman Suffrage

MRS. H. E. TALBOTT

I APPRECIATE most keenly the opportunity to be heard here because I think there is a spirit of fairness to us among the men of this country and a willingness to hear what we have to say.

In my opinion, there seems to be this great contention between the suffragists and the anti-suffragists because of a very serious misunderstanding. It is because the suffragists believe that the vote will do great good that they are striving for it; and it is

because we believe it will do no good whatever that we are striving against it. In their eagerness and desire for the betterment of conditions they are striking out for the vote, because they believe that will accomplish great good. Their slogan is, "Votes for Women," and I am unwilling to believe that this tremendous energy which they have and which they are expending is being expended entirely for votes for women. I believe that they consider that the vote means the accomplishment of great good. We, upon our part, believe that far greater good can be accomplished by the women of this great country without the vote. They have accomplished great good in the past, they are accomplishing great good in the present, and we believe that in the future they will accomplish still greater good.

I have the honor to represent the state of Ohio, and as an anti-suffragist I represent a tremendous majority in our state. When the referendum vote was taken there were, suffragists claimed, 32,000 suffragists, which was a little less than 3 per cent. of the women of the state of Ohio. How many of these suffragists were of voting age I do not know. I know that in our part of the state we have one suffrage organization with several hundred members, which includes many men, and which also includes a small child six months of age, whose mother and grandmother both proudly declare that it is the youngest suffragist in the state of Ohio. I do not know of what value she is to their organization, but she may be of some value to us later on when she gets older and does not agree with her mother and grandmother.

Now we ask by what right this 3 per cent. of the women of Ohio demand suffrage for the tremendous majority of the women of our state, against the earnest protest or indifference of the 97 per cent., and that 97 per cent. in the main a body of good, strong, fine, home-loving women, who wish to attend to the duties of their homes and who do attend to them to the utmost of their powers. The avenues of usefulness are open to the women of the state of Ohio in every direction—schools, churches, industries, hospitals and, as a matter of fact, all civic matters. Recently we have been fortunate enough to have a legislature enact for us a bill which provides for the appointment of women in all public institutions where women and children are cared for. This was done without any votes for women. The men are only too glad to provide such legislation as is necessary and valuable for the women and children of our state. Rather an interesting feature is that of the personal equation which enters into the matter of legislation. Any woman, whether a resident of the state of Ohio or not, or whether of foreign birth or an American, may sit at her desk and may frame a measure, and if she is sufficiently fortunate to persuade some legislator to present that bill and it is acted upon favorably by the legislature, it may become a law without the knowledge or consent of any voter in the state of Ohio. I do not think we need the vote very badly in the state of Ohio.

The women have been able for many years to do wonderful work. In short, for twenty years there has been a concerted effort among the men and women to get all charitable, educational and civic institutions, so far as possible, out of politics. There has been a tremendous effort in that direction, and there has been great success. Now comes this wave of enthusiasm which seeks to put everything right back into politics. We protest. We object. It seems to me that it is a great pity that it should be necessary for busy women to come and make a protest against action being taken at the request of 3 per cent. of the women of this country, of 5 per cent. or 10 per cent., or even 20 per cent. We busy women want to be allowed to pursue our duties and to do as we think best, to be entirely satisfied that all legislative enactment will be as it should be, that it will look after and safeguard the interests of the women and the children of our state. It seems to me a pity that we have to waste time to protest against having greater responsibilities thrust upon us. But women in my position, with children, feel that it is not this generation alone that would have these responsibilities so much as the next. I am here to protest against suffrage for women in my own behalf and in behalf of seven daughters who might have responsibilities thrust upon them. It is my duty to protect them, and to place them in that sphere of duty and activity where I think they can do the most good for themselves and for the country at large.

I am hoping to teach them that their great duty to the state lies within the construction department of the government. I consider that the women of this vast country are responsible for the stuff of which the government is made.

There are no men here who will not agree, who will not bow their heads in appreciation of the good their mothers have done for them. The mothers of this country should be responsible for the voters of this country, and if the voters of this generation are failing it is because the women of the last generation—God bless them—in many instances, failed to bring up good citizens and the fine men and the true statesmen that they should have brought up. And they cannot correct that mistake by any vote. The way to correct that mistake now is to begin with the children, with the boys, and bring them up to good citizenship, to true manliness and to upright character, which shall enable them to take any position which shall come to them in the government.

In Colorado there is great contention as to the success of suffrage. Supposing that twenty years ago each woman in the state of Colorado had made it her business to see that one man-child was properly educated—it may have been her son, or nephew—she may have had no family, and it may have been through the school that her activity might have been developed, but if each woman in the state of Colorado had made herself responsible for the proper development of one man-child, the eyes of the world to-day would be upon the electorate of Colorado, and the women would have done it. There is no doubt of that. There would be no question as to the success of the women in Colorado. There is now a very great question.

Gentlemen of the Committee, I plead for the mothers of the children of this country. There are many women who have no families; I wish they all had, but it seems to me that the unit of civilization must be looked after. That unit is the home, and nothing should be done to divert the women from their God-given duties to the home and to their children.

How Suffrage States Compare with Non-Suffrage

Miss Minnie Bronson

WE are here to-day, a band of women who belong to that class termed by our suffragist friends "working women." We are all working women. Some of us find it necessary to work for our livelihood, while others of us who are not so handicapped can work alone for the common good. To the former class I belong. I have been a self-supporting woman since I was twenty years of age and in that time I have never received a dollar which I have not earned. I have, therefore, not only the fullest sympathy but a community of interest with the working girl, no matter what interpretation the suffragist may place upon that term.

There has been so much said about the need of the ballot for women, both wage-earning women and property owning women. There has been so much said of the enormous advantage to

be gained by women through the ballot, so much about the admirable laws for women and children found in woman suffrage states which have been brought about by the ballot in the hands of women that the committee who have in charge our presentation to-day have asked me to take up a short review of such legislation and show what the net result has been in comparison with states where women have not exercised the elective franchise.

In making this comparison, I do not wish to be understood as depreciating such legislation in woman suffrage states. It is as good and no better than in many male suffrage states. What I do expect to show is that the votes of women have not brought about better conditions in those states than exist in male suffrage states having practically identical conditions industrially and geographically.

When you hear a comparison like this, "seventeen states have equal guardianship laws and nine of them are suffrage states," it should be borne in mind that in at least three states out of the nine no remedial legislation has been enacted since woman suffrage carried in those states and whatever legislation rests upon their statute books to-day was placed there under male suffrage. That in at least one of the remaining six states both the child labor law and the woman's labor law were placed there before women's suffrage obtained, so that any sweeping assertion which includes all these states loses both point and power. For example, Oregon carried woman suffrage in November, 1912, but her splendid child labor law (one of the best) was passed some years before. California's child labor law was passed before woman suffrage carried in that state and her famous eight hour law for women passed nine months before woman suffrage carried, and would have been on the statute books to-day if woman suffrage had been defeated. Yet suffragists claim that eight hour law as a victory for suffrage, for they say that the same legislature that passed the eight hour law passed also the woman suffrage bill. That legislature did not pass a woman suffrage bill, they passed a bill submitting the question to a vote of the people, and I personally know twenty legislators who voted to submit the question of woman suffrage to a vote of the people, who not only voted against it at the polls, but who worked against it as well, and here is a point I would like to emphasize. If this committee should recommend to Congress the appointment of a special committee to consider the *question* of woman suffrage, within twenty-four hours the word will be telegraphed to the remotest parts of the earth that the Congress of the United States and the Democratic Party had endorsed woman suffrage and every man who votes in the affirmative will be hailed as an exponent of the cause.

In reference, however, to the laws for the protection of women and children who work, I challenge any suffragist to show that any progress has been made in any or all of the suffrage states that has not been made in male suffrage states of like industrial development. I assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that there is not a law for the protection of the young child who works on the statute books of any suffrage state placed there since women could vote in that state that cannot be met by laws equally as good, and in some cases better, in adjoining male suffrage states.

I assert without fear of successful contradiction that there is not a law for the protection of the working woman found in suffrage states which cannot be met by laws equally as good in adjoining male suffrage states.

Suffragists claim that an eight hour law for women exists only in suffrage states (there are three suffrage states having an eight hour law and in two of them, California and Washington, the eight hour law was passed before women had ever voted in those states), but they do not add that a law recognized by all social workers as a *sine qua non* of remedial legislation for working women, namely, night prohibition of labor, is not to be found on the statute books of any suffrage state, while Nebraska, a male suffrage state with practically identical conditions industrially, has had such a law for twelve years (Note A):

Note A. Three states, Indiana, Massachusetts and Nebraska, prohibit night labor for women of all ages in certain specified employments. Thirteen other states prohibit night labor for very young women who are above the age where they would be protected by the child labor law. In some states these laws apply to girls betwen 16 and 18 years and in others between 16 and 21 years of age. This makes at least sixteen male suffrage states where there is some prohibition of night labor for women. Other states may have been added to this list since this compilation was made.

Two years ago Congressman at Large Taylor from Colorado delivered an address before a Committee of the House of Representatives which was afterward printed and used as a suffrage document under the private frank of the Congressman. Mr. Taylor recited 150 laws passed by the legislature of Colorado since woman suffrage had been in force in that state, the inference being that they were the result of the votes of women. I have gone over the entire list in the last day or two and I can say that with the exception of one law relating to the insurance of a young child, every law of a remedial character can be found in most of the male suffrage states. The fact that all of these laws cannot be found in any one male suffrage state is fully met by the fact that not all the laws of Nebraska, for instance, or of Wisconsin or of Oklahoma or of Texas can be found in any one suffrage state.

Mr. Taylor says that the best child labor laws in this country are to be found in Colorado. I do not know his authority for that statement and I do not care what it is. I deny the assertion without fear of successful contradiction. I claim that any child labor law which permits boys of any age and a girl of ten years to engage in street trades or children of any age, no matter how young, to work in theatrical exhibitions, if only liquors are not sold in the theater (see note), fails lamentably in comparison with the law of Nevada, for instance, where any child, boy or girl, under ten years is deemed delinquent if he sells on the street, or the law of Oklahoma, or the laws of New York or of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and other male suffrage states barring boys under 14 and girls under 16 from selling on the street.

(Note) Mr. Owen J. Lovejoy in an article on child labor in the "Review of Labor Legislation" for 1911 for the American Association for Labor Legislation, page 73, says of the Colorado law, "Children of any age may be employed in any concert or theatrical exhibition or performance where liquors are not sold."

The clause in the Colorado law excepting children between 14 and 16 from any provisions of the child labor law if he or she obtains a permit, makes it possible to employ a child as young as 14 in places where liquor is sold, while Texas makes the age 15, and in many eastern states the age is 21.

It is not my intention to dwell at length upon these laws. I cite these instances as proof that the claims made of better laws under woman suffrage do not hold good when the laws themselves are studied.

I hold in my hand a clipping from the New York *Sun* which was handed me as I came into this chamber this morning, presumably by a suffrage advocate, in which comparisons are made of labor laws in suffrage and non-suffrage states. This statement issued by the Woman's Political Union does not compare suffrage and non-suffrage states by states, but by averages, that is, the average age of child workers in suffrage states is compared with the average age of child workers in non-suffrage states. In getting these averages they have counted ten states as suffrage states which include Oregon with its splendid child labor law passed long before Oregon became a suffrage state, California with its laws passed under male suffrage and Illinois where the votes of women have never helped to write one law upon the statute books. And even then what is the

result? Take the first statement which is to the effect that in woman suffrage states the average age of consent is 17.7 years, while in male suffrage states it is only 16.6 years. Let me call your attention to the fact that the lower the age of consent in a state the higher is the degree of punishment. A state that places the age of consent at 18 or 21 years and the punishment at one year in jail or a fine has, to my mind, a less effective law than the state that makes the age of consent as low as 16 or even 15 years, and the penalty from 5 to 20 years in the penitentiary or, as in some states, a life sentence.

Again, the report says that the average age below which children cannot be employed in factories is 14.3 years in woman suffrage states and 14.1 years in male suffrage states. In this comparison is included in the male suffrage states all those great industrial states of the South where for fifty years there has been in progress the rebuilding of a nation, the rehabilitation of a people, the evolution of a race, in which process the labor of children even of young children, no matter how much that is to be deprecated, played a necessary part. And yet this comparison of the Woman's Political Union shows only two-tenths of a year advantage on an average of the woman suffrage states over the male suffrage states. Nothing that I can say would so utterly disprove the claims of better laws than this comparison, for in those far western states with no old legislation to make over, heritors as they are of the experience of older states, their legislation should be in the vanguard, or at least equal to the best legislation in the most advanced male suffrage states if woman suffrage had helped at all.

As a matter of fact, the votes of women, the votes of men have had nothing whatever to do with the question. The question of child labor from the standpoint of the state is a question of the future citizenship of the state, and the increasing protection which is being thrown around the young child who works is the result of modern thought, the evolution of social science. If child labor laws were due to votes alone such organizations as the National Child Labor Committee would close their doors. They at least recognize the necessity of molding public opinion in the matter. Theirs is the work which the suffragist sneers at as "indirect influence," but they have written more good legislation upon the statute books of our states for the children who must work than all the votes of men and women combined.

So far as the laws for the protection of property owning women are concerned, they are to-day in many states better than the laws for the protection of men's property. Neither are the laws in woman suffrage states for property owning women in advance of the laws in male suffrage states. For instance, in at least two of the suffrage states where women have voted long enough to have effected legislation, a man may sell all of his real estate not homesteaded and squander the money without the consent or knowledge of his wife. In at least one of them a woman must under certain circumstances support her husband. On the other hand, in certain male suffrage states, like New York and Virginia, a woman may sell every dollar of her real estate and squander the money without the consent of her husband, but her husband cannot similarly sell one dollar of his real estate without the signature of his wife.

When our government was founded we took for our law the old English Common Law as the best statutes then extant with the promise that this law should be changed from time to time to meet the changing civilization. And it has been changed and in no respect has this change been greater than in the laws for the protection of women. The movement began in 1841, and curiously enough the first states to pass such laws were the two states most antipodal, Rhode Island, the smallest state on our northeastern boundary, and Texas, the largest state on our southwestern boundary. Massachusetts followed and then New York. And every year since has seen the good work go on. Year after year the tide has been rising higher and higher, year after year has seen better and more far-reaching laws placed on the statute books for the protection of women by legislators who are constantly denounced by advocates of woman suffrage as unjustly discriminating against our sex.

Mrs. Susan Fitzgerald, Secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, said in Michigan last spring: "We women don't want any favors of that kind. We want absolute equality." I don't know what Mrs. Fitzgerald may want. I do not know what the Suffrage Association may want, but I do know that 90 per cent. of the women do want this legislation which discriminates in their favor. They do not want to be placed on exactly the same plane as men, where they must give and take as do men and ask no favors, although they are not physically equal. We know, and you know, that the very being of the future state demands such legislation.

Both in the making and administering of the law man has given woman a consideration he has denied his own sex, and a preferential and a deferential attitude generally, and I for one believe that we shall have irrevocably retrograded if the day should ever come when that law of "women first" which dominated the sea a year and a half ago is considered absurd and archaic.

Ballot a Handicap in Philanthropic Work

MISS EMILY P. BISSELL

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen of the Committee, I know my sex, and I believe in its present power. I know very few women who come anywhere near using the power that they have. I believe, therefore, that when the majority of the women of the United States want to vote, they will do so. Whether it is wise or not they will do so. They will not come up and ask Congress either. They will swing their own states into line without effort. Texas will not have to ask Utah to help her, and New York will not look to Wyoming to coerce her women into suffrage. This question ought not to be a man's question; it ought to be a woman's question, and it should be left to the women to work out in their own way, in their own states, for it is the women who are going to gain or lose by it. The vote means additional work and worry, and most women do not see enough gain in it to wish it. Some working women may be attracted by the glittering promise that suffrage will raise wages and shorten hours and bring equal pay. That most self-supporting women want it is not true. Some social workers may want the vote as a power or social lever, but the majority still remain indifferent. A large number of them dislike the whole question and consider both suffragists and anti-suffragists a bore, with which feeling some of you probably sympathize. Many women have even gone so far as to say that when they hear a suffrage argument they become suffragists, and when they hear an anti-suffrage argument they become anti-suffragists. They are so tired of it they are ready to believe anything.

Now why should the men endeavor to give woman something to which she is indifferent? Do you suppose for a minute that the majority of women in this country wish to have Congress take up this subject? Why, every woman knows it isn't that. The suffragist's claim is only that the demand of a small minority is valid and it would be a good thing for the majority of the indifferent women to have the vote forced on them. But

that does not seem like good statesmanship in a land where majorities rule. It seems unfair to a state which rests on majorities, and unfair to the majority of women. According to the suffragist, they want the vote for five reasons:

1st. For the self-supporting woman.
2d. For the property-owning woman.
3d. For the single women who have no one to look after their interests.
4th. For the temperance woman, who wants prohibition.
5th. For the club woman interested in public affairs.

As a matter of fact, experience has taught me that in every single one of these five things they do not need the vote. For example, the self-supporting woman. I know that the vote does not raise wages or shorten hours, and the sooner woman gets her mind off of that the better for her. The best laws for women are those of Massachusetts, which is not a suffrage state. No law can help a woman who works to hold her place. There is no royal road to self-support. I believe in labor laws that will protect the unskilled and helpless women, but those laws could be enacted without the vote just as well as with one, in my experience. Wherever men realize the need of a law for the protection of women they are entirely willing to enact it. Woman has neither the time nor the money to spend on politics. She needs both to do her very best now. Is she doing it? The suffrage cry is "equal pay for equal work," but the practical result is that employers prefer men for the reason that men are more generally useful, more all-around useful than women, and the result of equal opportunity instead of raising wages, as the suffragist told us, has been to depress them. In regard to the claim that the temperance worker needs the ballot, I have found that I did not need anything in such work. I have found that in carrying around temperance petitions men sign just as willingly as women, and just as often as the women, and none more than another. I have helped to keep eleven saloons out of our ward and there has not been one saloon in our ward for twenty-four years. In lower Delaware local option has gone through without suffrage. In suffrage states I do not find that the vote has made remarkable records as to prohibition compared with non-suffrage states. In regard to the holding of property and taxation, the status of the woman and the man are almost the same. In the case of a row of houses owned by men and women, it makes no difference who owns them, the taxes are identically the same on all, and with equal suffrage there would be more expenses for election, and therefore higher state and county taxes, because all those things have got to come back to the taxpayer in the end. Equal suffrage means that the woman who has never earned anything, never saved money, never has any idea but what the state can pay for all kinds of schemes, will be voting just the same as the thrifty woman and the property owner. Then we must consider the negro woman of the South, and it does not seem to me that these ignorant women should be allowed to vote and to impose taxes upon the woman who owns property.

When our last legislature was in session, we took up the matter of a child labor law, and in preparing it we wanted to know what were the best laws on that subject. When I was in Chicago only last week I heard Miss Trout, of Illinois, say that Massachusetts had the best child labor law in the United States. I was told the same thing when we came to take up this law, to look up the labor laws of Massachusetts, and I was not recommended to look at the labor laws of Colorado. In our state we do not allow children to work about the mills until they are 21 years of age, and we have several safeguards that I did not hear Miss Bronson give as to the suffrage states. We have gotten through a ten-hour law for women, and we have been successful in securing tuberculosis legislation. We have secured unanimous votes from Republicans and Democrats alike, from Republicans in the Senate and Democratic assemblies, or *vice versa*. We women are the only people who have carried through our appropriation bills without having them cut. We were told to ask for twice what we wanted and we would get half, but we said we did not work that way, and we asked for what we wanted and we got it. We were powerful because we had no political entanglements. Women everywhere will realize these facts. We found men always ready to help in legislation for us when the issue is clearly legislation for the public good. We found that the men against us could not even say that we were suffragists, but had to admit, as one was heard to say, "She isn't even a suffragist." We do not want the vote in politics. The fact that we were wholly disinterested, working wholly for the public good, brought the public right in line behind us. For this reason, a reason tested and tried, I do not, as some women interested in legislation do, want the vote, and I can safely say that I represent the Federation in this cause, for at our last meeting it refused to send a fraternal delegate to the State Equal Suffrage Association.

Our hardest problem this year has been that of keeping objectionable shows out of our State Fair. It is quite a problem in many respects. This year our men tried it—the pastors tried and they failed. Then the police came out and closed all the shows and the next day they opened worse than ever. The Federation was appealed to and we closed the shows up inside of a day, by personally inspecting the shows and then going to the fair directors. The shows were closed, but the manager of the grounds was in such a rage at the closing that he insisted on my leaving the grounds. I went out with the honors of war, and next week the stockholders assured us that such shows will never be allowed in the fair grounds again.

Now the suffragists tell us that the vote means very much, but I do not believe that the mere dropping of a ballot in the ballot box will move the world. You gentlemen know perfectly well that the only thing that makes that ballot effective is the hard work that your campaign managers have done in getting that vote out. It is by placing men at work through the campaign and keeping it moving that you get results. A single vote is not legislation, but women think it is because they are so ignorant of politics. An organized vote means work, and more work, and the ordinary woman will be more indifferent to it when she finds out what work it really entails.

The suffragists say that the majority of women do not want to vote because they are not intelligent and are indifferent generally to what they need. If the suffragists are right in this, then they must be wrong in attempting to force the vote upon persons who are so unintelligent and ignorant of what will be good for them. The practical solution, gentlemen, is to let the women vote on the question themselves, and let this be decided in every state. That would be a fair test. Such a referendum was tried in 1894 in Massachusetts with the result that not 4 per cent. of the women wanted the ballot. Times may have changed since, but when it was reintroduced last year the suffragists refused this solution. Suffragists want the men to vote and help them force the vote on the majority of the women. We want what we want when we want it, but we don't want the ballot. This is a genuine case of what we do not want. It is not progress to forget the majority and impose something upon us at the request of a very small minority. The Goddess of Liberty does not need the vote and does not want it.

Woman Suffrage an Outpost for Feminism

MRS. A. J. GEORGE

THE proposition before you is to create a "committee on equal rights." There never was a proposition so misleading. Had the proponents of the measure stated their real convictions they would have asked for a "committee on unequal rights," because, unless they are ready to efface all of the remedial and protective legislation with which women in this country have been surrounded by the votes of men, those who ask for the enfranchisement of women are asking for unequal rights. It is my duty to-day to speak of one phase of this question which is not pleasing to discuss, but which it is necessary for us in all honesty of mind to consider. Among suffragists a notion seems to obtain that woman suffrage is a planet revolving in an orbit all its own, or even that it is a planet wholly disconnected from the social planetary system. There are those who contend that you may make this change in woman's relation to the state—a change which Mr. Gladstone termed revolutionary— and yet not alter anything. But with incredible swiftness in the last six months we have seen some of the beautiful dreams of the more conservative suffragists come crashing to earth, and the realities of the claims of the suffragists is made evident. Every suffragist must consider the responsibility which rests with those who advocate what has come to be known as feminism. If the woman's vote is to mean anything some new social scheme must be formulated to make that vote operative. And schemes aplenty the suffragists furnish us.

The family cannot be made over in the arbitrary fashion proposed by the suffragists without producing social and moral disaster. As Mr. Asquith says, "We are getting on." An English suffragist writing in the *Century* for November, 1913, declares that "There is sex war, just as there is class war, and will be until there is a world-wide readjustment of human relations." At the close of this extraordinary paper, this suffragist-feminist writer acknowledges that "the keystone is falling; women are refusing, and must refuse to accept the old ideals in the relations between men and women. If they decline to be dependent longer economically and spiritually upon men, one of man's greatest spurs to action is taken from him, with no other incentive equally compelling given in its place." The same writer informs us that, "It was St. Paul who laid down the Christian ideal for women; nothing invented of man ever had more stultifying effect upon the character and morals of women and of men." In other words, the 20 centuries which have developed the Christian ideal of womanhood are acknowleged by this writer to be a failure. Compare with this radical doctrine the reply made by the woman whom we all honor, Mrs. Francis M. Scott, the honored first president of the New York State Anti-Suffrage Association: 'Marriage is a partnership in which there should be a fair and equitable division of the labor of the family, and the first requisite of the woman in that partnership must be her freedom to consider first, the welfare, not of the woman as the feminist says, but of the child, and nothing should be undertaken by the mother which might interfere with that most important duty. It is for this reason and this alone that wherever possible women with children should be relieved of responsibilities which would of necessity take her out of her home. It is because she may be needed at home that it is wrong for her to undertake work which compels her to be constantly and regularly away from her home."

The suffragists recognize that all their theories rest on a basis of economic independence for women. The fact that the theory of the economic independence of woman is associated with the woman suffrage movement in England is attested by the following quotation from a pamphlet by Christabel Pankhurst. This pamphlet was purchased at the headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party, therefore, it may be fairly assumed that the doctrines are at least not repudiated by the organized woman suffragists of America:

"Another aspect of the problem is economic. More and more woman is becoming persuaded to the fact that both in marriage and out of it, she must be economically independent, and there must be no question of living by sale of sex. For sex is degraded by any hint of sale or barter. * * * Social reformers, who attach so great an importance to the economic side of every problem, ought to be the first to realize that in the reforming of social conditions it is not enough to put the husband in possession of larger means, and that to every adult individual, man or woman, wife or maid, must be secured economic independence. And yet it is often they who uphold the reactionary theory that men and women ought not to be economically independent. The system under which a married woman must derive her livelihood from her husband, must eat out of his hand, as it were, is a great bulwark of sex subjection, and is a great reinforcement to prostitution. * * * Of course married people will always be free to make such arrangements as suit their own case, but the typical marriage will, in days to come, be one in which the wife is economically independent."*

A writer in *Harper's Weekly*, of September 27, 1913, pleads the case of the "Younger Suffragists." She assures us that "there are within the fold of modern franchise seekers, a number of women who consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end; that end being a complete social revolution," and she bases her "social revolution" entirely upon the *economic independence of women.*

A writer in a Boston paper, speaking for the suffrage association of her town says, "In the day when women shall vote, woman's position as a parasite, whether as kept-mistress or kept-wife will disappear."

Mrs. Philip Snowden is reported to have said at Dayton, Ohio, that the woman who allowed her father or her brother, or even her husband to support her was little better than the kept-woman of the streets. This is strong talk, gentlemen. It comes from the advocates of woman suffrage. Some of our suffrage friends seek to repudiate these statements. They say, "These are the utterances of radicals," which always form that "fringe of lunacy" which Col. Roosevelt assures us, hangs about any progressive movement. But what shall we say to this? A pamphlet which bears the imprint of the National Woman Suffrage Association, and is entitled *Bondwomen.* There is published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association a bibliography on Woman Suffrage, and this bibliography gives stars of praise to arguments for women suffrage. That which I shall read to you wins three out of the maximum of seven "stars of praise." It does not emanate from "the fringe of lunacy." I read from *Bondwoman"* published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

"The Freewoman must produce within herself strength sufficient to provide for herself and for those of whom nature has made her the natural guardian, her children. She must be in a position to bear children if she wants them without soliciting maintenance from any man *whoever he may be."*

Then on pages 13 and 14 we find this doctrine pushed still further:

"Feminism would hold that it is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they so often do so largely rests on tradition which has to be worn down. In wearing it down vast changes must take place in social conditions, in housing, in nursing, kindergartens, education, cooking, cleaning, in the industrial world and in the professions.

* "Plain Facts about a Great Evil," by Christabel Pankhurst.

These changes will have for their motive the accommodation of such conditions as will enable women to choose and follow a life work, apart from and in addition to, their natural function of reproduction."

There follows an advertisement of suffrage and feminist literature for sale by the National American Woman Suffrage Association of New York City.

This is strong doctrine, but the only consistent suffragist is the one who is prepared to follow the feminist to the last conclusion of her original proposition, and the fact that many suffragists hide in alluring by-ways must not blind us to the fact, that in every demand for woman suffrage is the demand that women shall have economic independence from men, and that is only accomplished by social independence and sexual independence.

Mrs. Catt, in 1909, when president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, foreshadowed this doctrine by a statement over her own signature in *Collier's Weekly:* "If a woman possess ability, great or small, talent, genius, lofty ideals," queries Mrs. Catt, "shall she contribute these directly to the welfare of the world or through the *doubtful channels* of influence of her husband and children?" The feminist is new in name, but we have had her long with us, though in disguise. The secretary of the National American Women Suffrage Association says: "Most progressive people are agreed that the wife should be economically independent of her husband." Therefore she proposes shifts of five hours whereby the mother shall be employed in gainful occupations outside the home five hours, and shall be employed in the home in caring for the children five hours while the father takes his turn in gainful occupation for five hours, and then returns to be employed five hours in taking care of the children. Some such new scheme is necessary to put into operation the demands of the suffragists and we are coming to see what the good Queen Victoria meant when she called on every woman who could, to write or speak against "the mad, wicked folly of woman suffrage."

Women vote in the state of Washington. There are two woman members on the Washington State Industrial Commission, and on October 22, 1913, these two voting women brought in a report which declared that the Commission had no right to concern itself with the morals of the working-women, that the only concern of the Commission was to see that the women had proper conditions of work. Yet all over the country without the vote, we have placed women on vice commissions, interested in the morals of women, who believe that we are concerned with morality of women, because we are concerned with the sound citizenship of the next generation.

You may say the feminist theory has not yet developed in Colorado, Idaho and Wyoming. But some things have happened, gentlemen. This is exhibit "A" (exhibiting red pennant "Votes for Women"). This banner was carried up Pennsylvania Avenue in the Suffrage Parade on March 3, 1913. It is not the suffrage yellow, you will notice. It was carried in the socialistic contingent of the parade which moved to the sound of the Marseillaise, and the contingent was headed by a banner saying, "One million socialists vote and work for woman suffrage." By socialists we do not refer to those who stand for the brotherhood of humanity, but we mean the organized political party which voted for Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States on November 5, 1912. When the attention of the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was called to this banner, she declared: "We welcome every socialistic vote."

Some other things are happening. How about the endorsement of militancy? With one exception, no suffrage organization in this country has had the courage—has had the patriotism—to repudiate the methods of the English militants, and on Tuesday night here in Washington the president of the National Suffrage Association said that we might come to the "hatchet method" of advancing (!) civilization if women were not enfranchised. We can safely wait until those who advocate woman suffrage show a clearer discernment of the issues of right and wrong than they show in condoning—since they do not condemn—the methods of the militants, before we adopt their suggested methods of contributing woman's service to the state.

There are a great number of honest, sincere, zealous and devoted women who ask for woman suffrage, but it is quite possible to have a union of high aspirations and humanitarian impulses with a general incompetence as political thinkers, and in the endorsement of militancy we have a manifestation of this incompetence.

Daniel DeLeon, a distinguished socialistic writer says, "Woman Suffrage is an integral splinter in the torch that lights the pathway of the social revolution." I have endeavored to quote suffrage authority to show the suffrage hope of a social revolution of another sort.

Because of these tendencies and because woman to-day has ample opportunity for all her abilities if she will do the work which is before her, we protest against the formation of any committee which shall encourage those who at least are in sympathy with those who hold these radical doctrines.

A Radical Departure from Democratic Principles

MR. CHARLES L. UNDERHILL

IT seems almost sacrilegious to take this discussion out of the high plane in which it has been placed by the women and descend to sordid soil and the sordid plane of politics, but I suppose, having had some experience in that line of work, that I may be excused perhaps if I dwell a little upon that side of the question.

As I understand it, this Committee can go no further here than to request the House for the creation of a Committee on Woman Suffrage, and the things to consider are certain results if such action is taken. The Democratic party cannot create the proposed woman suffrage committee for the purpose for which it may be created without departing from fundamental Democratic principles. It cannot put into the headlines of the newspapers the news of such sentiment without committing the party definitely to woman suffrage. There are printed and put upon the streets of the cities and towns of this country every day 2,600 newspapers, and they have a circulation of 24,000,000 copies. This means that they are read by more than 70,000,00 people day in and day out. And the headlines of these newspapers mould public sentiment. Some man has said that he cared not who shaped the editorial policy of his paper, so long as he was permitted to write its headlines. There is an earnest warning that must come home to the Committee on Rules to-day. It is wholly probable that if you recommend the creation of a committee on woman suffrage your action will be displayed in big black headlines and stereotyped phrases before 70,000,000 people of this country. The reading public will determine in a second, or the fraction of a second, that the Democratic party favors woman suffrage. They will not stop to read the article and see what lies behind it. Every man who reads it will ask himself, "If the Democrats do not favor woman suffrage, why do they encourage the movement by creating a special committee to devote its time to this principle?" And there is the answer to this that the Democrats, the Democrats of states rights belief, favor federal control of the state's electors.

That is why the Suffragists ask you to report favorably upon

this proposition. It will be the biggest advertising that they can possibly obtain. It would be their most effective argument in the campaign which they will wage next year for woman suffrage in the states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nevada and Montana. They will describe it as their capture of a great political party. That is what they would do, and their description would be accepted as true. It may be that the Democrats can create a committee on woman suffrage without committing the party to it, but this is a distinction too fine to be conveyed to the average mind by the big type that will catch 70,000,000 pairs of eyes. Create a committee on woman suffrage now and you will hear the command to write a woman suffrage plank into the next Democratic National Platform, and afterwards to undertake the work of mutilating the Constitution, so that in spite of all things orientals may hold the balance of power on the Pacific Coast, religion predominate in politics in New England, and negro women may have the deciding vote in shaping the policies of the Southern states.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I may be criticized by those who do not know for saying a word about the Southern states and their great problems. They know how to take care of them, and I am in absolute sympathy with them, having been born in Virginia, and I know what they are up against. But in my adopted state of Massachusetts, in our political problems, we have found, with the introduction of women—only so far as the school vote is concerned—that it has brought into our politics and schools the question of religion, a question that man has always tried to keep out of politics. And if I may be allowed to express a personal sentiment, I want to say that I have no prejudice in regard to that matter. I was the leader in the opposition some two years ago to the A. P. A. movement there that obtained so much strength and power. So I will say to you that in Massachusetts, with woman's vote for school committees we have had more trouble and more difficulties than all of the advantages which we have obtained from the vote of women. For instance, in my own city to-day there is a most bitter campaign going on with regard to school committees. Why? We cast some two years ago about 10 per cent. of the registered women's vote, and I think the registered vote there is about 2 per cent. of what would be the vote if all the women registered. A young fellow 21 years of age, just entering college, took the question of religion and carried it into his campaign for the school committee, and he got the women in his vicinity, in my district, to register and he was elected. This year the women of the opposite religious belief have gone into politics and have gone to the city hall and registered in order that they may get out and fight some of the other religions.

Now with regard to other things which have happened in Massachusetts, only last year in the legislature there we agreed to put up to the women—or rather to the men—a test vote of woman suffrage. Would the women be willing to have a test vote in Massachusetts on the question of woman suffrage? No, sir. After the bill had passed the House their principal efforts were directed towards influencing the Senate to bring in an adverse report on it, for they knew in Massachusetts it would be defeated. At that time they did not realize that one of the referendums to be put upon the bill provided that it should be voted on a little later, and the vote this fall showed absolutely that the people of Massachusetts were opposed to woman suffrage. After we placed upon the ballots the proposition to extend to women the right to vote, they were taken up and discussed by every newspaper and every politician in the state, and at the election it was defeated by over 30,000 votes. This was not because the people were not interested. In fact, there were over 181,000 votes against this amendment alone. Strange to say, the Democratic party in Massachusetts has sometimes flirted with the Suffragists, but in the Democratic vote throughout Massachusetts the vote was overwhelmingly against this proposition, and this occurs also at such places as were controlled by the Republicans.

That shows the sentiment in Massachusetts and I do not believe we would care to have you interfere here in Congress with our privileges in Massachusetts along the lines of election laws. We have there an election commission to which some of these questions are referred. We have in our legislature a very efficient Committee on Constitutional Amendments, to which some of these questions are referred. We have a Judiciary Committee, as you have here, which has handled some of these questions, and I think that your Judiciary Committee is well able to handle the questions as they come up to them, and I warn you that if you frame a special committee on this proposition your troubles will be greatly multiplied, if the indications all over the country are as they are in Massachusetts.

One of the worst features of the entering of women into politics has appeared in Massachusetts. I have been a member of the legislature there for eight years and when I first entered the House I found that those who were agitating woman suffrage were treated with the respect and courtesy that all of the women in Massachusetts were entitled to and were receiving from her men, but strange to say—and perhaps it is not so strange to say, as you may look at it—for the last two years there has been a decided change, and where you formerly heard through the legislative corridors and through the halls of the legislative assemblies reference to "Mrs. So-and-So" and "Miss So-and-So," who were advocating woman suffrage, we now hear them referred to invariably—not, mind you, by those opposed to woman suffrage, but by those who vote for it and speak for it—you hear them referred to as "Mag" and "Sweet Alice" and "Dear Susan" and "Old Mrs. So-and-So." They are rarely given the title which they deserve and which they should have of Mrs. or Miss, and it seems to me that this entrance of women into politics has resulted in contempt, familiarity and ridicule which they can ill afford, and it does not seem to me that it is proper.

Now let me have a word to say on the methods which the women have used—and I speak for Massachusetts rather than any other section, for I am not familiar with conditions as they exist elsewhere. In Massachusetts we have, as one of the ladies has said, the best child labor laws in the country. We have, I think, the best women-labor laws in the country there, and, strange to say, the laboring people of the commonwealth are the most bitter opponents of the new law, but they undoubtedly will be educated up to it. As one of the previous speakers has said, we allow no employment of children under 21 years of age in places where liquor is sold, and we do not allow children to go to work in the mills or factories until they are over 14, and not until they are 16 unless they can read and write fluently the English language. We do not allow them to enter the dangerous occupations until they are 18, and some of the dangerous occupations are taken away from them until they are 21 years of age. We have had this legislation put upon the statute books by men, who have been educated in Massachusetts. And I want to call your attention to the fact that the women of Massachusetts, both pro and anti, have given us a great deal of assistance in placing laws upon the statute books, but, strange to say, during the last two years many of the legislators who have refused to vote for woman suffrage, although they have stood at the forefront of the battle in behalf of every child-labor legislation, in behalf of better hours and better wages for women, in behalf of better school conditions, in behalf of everything that the woman Suffragists say they desire the ballot for in order that they may vote for them—these men who have stood at the forefront of the battle for these things have been opposed at the elections and primaries by the woman suffragists without a single qualifying adjective being brought forward in any way, shape or form for the things which they have done. They have been fought simply because they opposed woman suffrage, and all that they have done for the things which women advocated have gone for naught. The women have endeavored to defeat them without inquiring anything about how the other man was going

to vote on any of these questions, but just simply how was he going to vote on woman suffrage.

There seems to be only one question, and that is, "Are you going to vote for woman suffrage?" If you are not going to vote for woman suffrage, the fact that you may be a temperance advocate, or advocate good legislation along that line, the fact that you say you are in favor of the most radical legislation for the benefit of womankind, the fact that you may support bill after bill in behalf of child labor, the fact that you may vote for every improvement question from white slavery down—that has nothing to do with the question. You simply must be an advocate of woman suffrage, or else you are absolutely no good as a legislator. I bring that forward so that you may see some of the things that will come before the new committee if you report the resolution for a committee on woman suffrage. There will be nothing in this world more important—I see in one of the newspapers this morning that the Suffragists consider the currency bill a minor matter that should be sidetracked until this great subject of suffrage was settled.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have simply touched upon the political side of this question. I have just one word to say about the side those women so nicely presented, and that is I have heard it said somewhere that when anyone says, "Everybody is talking about him" it is an eulogy, but when anybody says "Everybody is talking about her" it is an elegy. So I leave that to you.

Socialism in the Wake of Woman Suffrage

Mrs. O. D. Oliphant

AFTER the adjournment this morning I heard a young lady wearing a yellow badge remark that the working of the Anti mind was peculiar. I am glad to know that the Suffragists admit that the Antis have a mind, and, moreover, that it is working.

The New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is just 19 months old, and in that short space of time we have over 8,000 members, 21 years of age or over, and we are increasing our membership by hundreds weekly. In spite of the fact that we are accused of being a millionaire corporation, 90 per cent. of our members are wage earners; by wage earners I mean women engaged in gainful pursuits; business women, factory girls, trained nurses, doctors, lawyers, musicians, school teachers, stenographers, and so forth. The women who lead in this movement in New Jersey are the same women who lead in all charitable and philanthropic work throughout the state. In New Jersey the Suffragists have been organized 23 years. Their last figure of membership, given out this week, is 7,000, and it is perfectly safe to say that a large proportion are under age. In fact, many of them have not even heard of suffrage, for they are peacefully slumbering in their cradles.

The growth of our movement in New Jersey is a fair illustration of what has been happening in all the states that are opposing woman suffrage. May I cite a personal illustration to show how eagerly the women of the country grasp the opportunity to show where they stand on this question? Last April another member of our Association and myself went to Elizabeth, N. J., to see if we could form a branch organization there. We met, by appointment, three ladies, and they said, "We are afraid it is impossible to organize in Elizabeth; the Suffragettes have held two meetings, and we think everybody must be for equal suffrage." We asked if they would not call up some of their friends on the telephone and try to arrange a meeting in two weeks. They said to us they would not dare to engage a hall for fear nobody would come to a meeting, so we suggested that they hold it in a private house. The day of the meeting the house, although a large one, was not big enough to hold the crowd of women that came to that meeting. Miss Bronson, of New York, addressed the meeting, and Elizabeth organized that day with 139 charter members. To-day Elizabeth's membership is 1,132. Elizabeth's history is being repeated all over the country to-day, for as soon as the women of the country realize the situation they are glad to come out and show where they stand on this question.

I feel I can speak with authority in regard to the sentiment on votes for women in New Jersey, for since the first of last July I have spoken not only in a number of cities, but before many of the granges in every county of our state but one, and I shall speak in that county during this month.

Last winter the Suffragettes in New Jersey made the claim that all the grangers were for woman suffrage. I had been speaking at on an average of four grange meetings a week, including grange picnics, where the audiences have ranged from 25 to over 800, and I have found the vast majority of grangers, both men and women, unalterably opposed to woman suffrage. In fact, the percentage of those who were in favor of woman suffrage is ridiculously small, and their ranks have been even further depleted since the grangers have realized that equal suffrage means the doubling of the foreign vote, and that it is the forerunner of the Socialistic principles that aim to place the red flag above the red, white and blue.

In voicing the protest of the women of New Jersey, I feel that I occupy rather an unique position, for I believe that New Jersey is the only state represented here to-day that has repudiated woman suffrage after a 25 years' experiment. That is a fact that not only this committee but Congress should consider carefully, and New Jersey's action should be respected and ratified.

The women of New Jersey had practical evidence this summer of the sort of justice they may expect from the Suffragists. The New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage maintain their state headquarters at Trenton. We occupy a building there loaned to us by one of our members. In July four Suffragists, national leaders, came to Trenton. They were on their way to Washington at the time, but decided to stop and hold a meeting at Trenton, so they secured permission from the chief of police to hold a meeting on one of our prominent corners. We have a number of prominent corners in Trenton, but where do you suppose these national leaders, who hope some day to be political leaders, chose for their meeting? The premises of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage! They held a meeting for over an hour. They called the women opposed to them liars, pikers and parasites, language that does not indicate sobriety of thought or womanly achievement. Many of the men who stood among the listeners said, "Well, this is the limit. You never see men going to the headquarters of the opposition to hold a meeting. If women begin campaigning like this before they get the vote, what will they do in an exciting political campaign?" Those Suffragists, in flights of oratory, were saying that they wanted the vote to protect woman; but their actions plainly nullified their oratory, for there they were brazenly usurping the rights of women honestly and legitimately opposed to them. To say the least, they put their heel on the American spirit of fair play.

What the Majority of Wage-Earning Women Want

MISS ALICE EDITH ABELL

I AM not a speaker. I am a stenographer, and my business is to listen; but I have a few words I would like to say on this subject.

Some are born to the ballot, some achieve the ballot, and some have the ballot thrust upon them. You gentlemen belong in the first class; our suffragist sisters are trying to get into the second class and to put us in the third. (Laughter.)

Now, we of the Wage Earner's Anti-Suffrage League are not doubting women of the chimney corner, as Mrs. Blatch has termed those who do not agree with her. We have convictions on this question based on our experience in man's world, the business world, and we know that the ballot would be a disadvantage to us. I myself bear testimony to the fact that the ballot has no relation to wages whatever, having started my career at four dollars a week and worked up to twenty-four a week. We wage earners think we have not lost our feminine distinctiveness, and, in fact, have, many of us, sneaking aspirations toward the chimney corner ourselves, although we have been obliged to assume some masculine responsibilities. We can the better appreciate what woman's true sphere in life is, having been kept out of it daily.

Viewing the home from the outside standpoint of the business world, we can see what it should supply to properly equip its members for their various services in the world and need to maintain in it a restful atmosphere, which will afford a relief from the turmoil of outside activities. We know that masculine occupations are incompatible with true home-making, and that the introduction of party politics into the home, through the enfranchisement of its manager and arbiter, must disturb its tranquillity. This does not mean we believe that women should not take any interest in national and civic affairs, for the affectional quality of mind which characterizes the majority of our sex is useful in government, when combined with the rational mentality which is characteristic of the majority of your sex. But feminine perception of ideals in government should, we believe, be ultimated by masculine judgment and practical experience in the enactment and enforcement of good laws. Moreover, the successful home-maker leaves her stamp on the nation and on civilization in the statesmen of her posterity, which reaches wider and further into the future, physically, morally and psychologically than mere individual feminist achievement. We hear so much from our suffragist sisters about the sweetness of freedom and of economic independence and need for the emancipation of women from slavery. Do we not all have to submit to the authority of employers in business, of political superiors in politics and the laws of country and of nature? And do not the laws of our feminine nature protest against our undertaking to duplicate man's work, in addition to performing our own, which man cannot assume? We who realize this, wish to be left unhampered by political restrictions and obligations, to develop our various fields of endeavor by feminine methods.

Therefore, we ask on our own behalf, and on behalf of our less experienced sisters in men's activities, that you weigh carefully the encouragement of the woman suffragists, which would result from the establishing of a committee at their request.

They, by their own figures, are a minority of the women in the country. I will mention that about 75 per cent. of the women employees in the corporation for which I work are either opposed or indifferent to the vote, and I know of but 5 per cent. who are avowed suffragists. The strongest argument of the suffragists is their most feminine one—and it is also the strongest argument of the anti-suffragists—that of what women want. On this basis the majority of men will decide the suffrage question, and they should be guided in their decision by the will of the majority of those to be directly affected by their action. If it can actually be proven that the majority of women want the ballot, the Wage Earner's Anti-Suffrage League is ready to show its democratic spirit by accepting the added responsibilities which go with it, so far as their physical limitations permit, just as they have accepted other responsibilities outside of their own sphere, when necessary.

"Vote Will Raise Woman's Pay"—An Obvious Fallacy

MISS ALICE BUCK

FOR the past nine years I have been out in the world earning my own living, and even before then I worked during my summer vacations, consequently most of my associates are working girls, but I do not know one of them who is a Suffragist. My most intimate girl friend is forelady in a factory in Trenton, in which there are about sixty girls employed, but they are also opposed to suffrage.

A certain Suffragist in Trenton says that most of the working girls are too ignorant to know what they want. The majority of working girls of to-day are not ignorant. Educational advantages have improved so much within the past few years that it is possible for the average working girl to acquire a fairly good education. We know what we want and most of us have very good reasons. We do not want the vote, principally because we feel that we have quite enough to occupy our time now, regardless of politics. The average factory girl is away from her home about 12 hours of the day. This leaves her very little time for anything else.

The Suffragists claim that when women are given the right to vote it will increase the working girl's salary. How can it? In most cases the girls are employed by men, therefore it is up to the men to increase the working girl's salary. Women very rarely employ girls, except in the capacity of domestics. In fact, the day that the working girl's salary is increased to equal that of the working man a great majority of the working girls will lose their positions. There are numberless business firms that could not afford to keep the same number of employes and increase their wages to any great extent. Therefore, if compelled to increase the wage by law they will have to discharge some of the girls to cut down expenses. In a number of instances this will necessitate one girl having to do the work of three or four, and to a majority of the girls who are not physically strong this will mean a general breakdown of health.

There are very few girls who have the endurance of a man. Would it not, therefore, be a better plan of reform to increase the working man's salary, thus enabling him to marry and support a family, and in this way prevent the ruin of so many unmarried girls? There are hundreds of young men who would be only too glad to have a home of their own could they but afford it.

I do not deny that an increase of salary for most working girls would be a very good thing, but an equal wage, never.

The Suffragists say that a great many men do not make good politicians because they are so easily bribed, and that women could not be bribed. I believe that there are just as many women as men who would be easy victims of bribery. How many women even now are living disreputable lives simply to be able to buy the pretty things that every woman loves so much and otherwise could not afford to buy? Therefore, on election day a great many women would sell their votes for the price of a pretty little article of wearing apparel.

Most of the Suffragists seem to be women who are simply thirsting for publicity and notoriety. They are continually doing things to make themselves conspicuous.

At a hearing before the New Jersey legislature last winter I heard Dr. Anna Howard Shaw say that her one aim in life had always been to be a policeman. Most of the working girls whom I know have a higher aim in life than to want to be a policeman.

Men have been heard to remark that when women get the vote they will not even deign to offer a lady who is standing in a trolley-car a seat; others that they will cease to support their families; that if the women vote they should support themselves. Under such conditions what courtesy could we working girls expect from our employers? These very facts make it evident that when women get equal suffrage they will never be able to again command the respect and consideration of men as they have heretofore. That is about all a poor working girl can command and I expect to retain that privilege just as long as possible.

Woman's Civic Work Better Done Without Suffrage

MISS ELIZABETH MCCRACKEN

I WISH that I might be with you on that significant occasion, the results of which I shall await with profound interest.

It seems to me that we cannot make too plain the important fact that our position, as Anti-Suffragists, is not negative, but positive. We are not so much opposing the policy of the Suffragists as we are presenting a policy of our own. The Suffragists have one conception of the relation of women to good government—and we Anti-Suffragists have another—which seems to us better.

It has sometimes been said of the Anti-Suffragists that they shrink from civic responsibilities and activities. I think it cannot be too clearly said that this is not the case. In Massachusetts, at least, the women who are especially active and effectual in civic affairs are strong Anti-Suffragists. Indeed, their very experience as civic workers has led them to a belief in anti-suffrage; they have been forced to see that in the important work they are doing the ballot would be not only not a help, but an actual hindrance. They have a very positive reason for opposing votes for women.

The ballot does not seem to us, as it does to some of our Suffragist friends, an inherent right; we regard it as a political expedient, designed for the use of men and adapted only to the use of men. We desire to do our duty to our state and to our country not by bending to our use the tools of men, but by employing tools designed for women and adapted to the use of women.

Just as fervently as the Suffragists, do the Anti-Suffragists desire to be citizens, and intend to be citizens, though they do not desire, nor, if it can be avoided, intend to be voters. The Suffragists affirm that they cannot be citizens until they receive the ballot. We Anti-Suffragists feel that we not only can be and are citizens without the ballot, but that we shall remain better citizens without it than with it.

This is but a very brief, and I fear inadequate statement of my conviction on this vital subject; but I nevertheless cannot refrain from making it at this significant time.

Educational Methods More Effective than Voting

MISS ELLA C. BRÉHAUT

THE demand by the Suffragists for absolute equality is rarely made in good faith. The *Woman's Journal* has said:

"Women must be united to do away with privilege in every form. Only when privilege has been rooted out will women have attained the equality with men, and only then will all working women understand their rightful positions."

It is true, gentlemen, that as a sex we have privileges. When a man in business life is assigned a task that is physically hard, the woman worker does not envy him. Even a Suffragist believes in an eight-hour law for women and many of them demand a minimum wage. These provisions of law are designed to make men and women unequal. The Anti-Suffragists desire inequalities in the industrial world. If a man and a woman are equally qualified to fill one place, the man should be preferred to the woman who does not have to work and he should be preferred to the woman who has to support only herself. The laws in force in a number of the states limiting the hours of labor in which women may be employed take away her right to work as long as she will and help us to forget the evil day when she was permitted to ruin her health by competing with men in this regard. In many occupations woman should be willing to do a smaller stint of work and receive a proportionate wage. It is better for her health and the health of future generations to have it so.

The body of industrial women is a shifting body. A woman is wage earner for a few years and then gives up her wage-earning employment to begin her real life work as wife and mother, in which life she shares with her husband, whatever he may achieve or inherit, the fruits of his success or failure. A large percentage of all women marry. The expectation of marriage lessens a woman's ambition in a gainful occupation, and this lack of ambition can have no other effect than to limit her efficiency.

The Suffragists claim that woman's low wage is due to her having no vote. On the contrary, lack of skill is one of the reasons, and one that can be overcome in time by industrial education, technical and trade instruction, given in the public schools or in coöperation with them. This instruction is still in its infancy, but a good beginning has been made, and if our Boards of Education move with even ordinary speed and intelligence we may hope, even in a democratic country like ours, to turn out boys and girls from the coöperative industrial schools who shall be comparable with those trained in the schools of Germany, a country in which men are not politically equal, but where a sys-

tem of plural voting still obtains. Increasing intelligence as to the necessity for trade training for women does not depend upon woman suffrage. Each community must settle the matter in accordance with its peculiar circumstances.

The industrial woman also suffers from the opposition of men's unions. What is her remedy? To vote for some one who may or may not do anything to help her? Not at all; let her rather have a union of her own. If there were solidarity among the women stenographers in this national capital men in the legal profession would not be boasting of never paying more than seven dollars a week for stenographic work. A union girl would demand the union wage, and men would not be beggared by paying it.

Much has resulted from the solidarity of men and women in the garment trades.

I read in the *Survey* of March 8th that the New York garment strikes, then just ended, were of national significance. In women's wear the struggle ushered in a plan providing for grievance and arbitration boards, safe and sanitary conditions, minimum wage and minimum age of employes, increase of pay, regulation of hours of labor, and compensation of overtime. Thousands of workers and hundreds of manufacturers are thus brought together in the grievance and sanitary boards to endeavor to put order and health and publicity and responsibility into their common work.

Manufacturers and men alike have imposed certain common standards upon all establishments.

The view of the various employers' associations has been expressed by their attorney, Mr. Julius Henry Cohen, who says:

"We have reached a point where the garment manufacturers are doing what the professions have long done. We hold ourselves responsible for the scalawags of our trade. It does not make any difference how good the standards are that a man wants to set in his own plant, the competitor who knows no limits in his treatment of his help undermines them and brings the trade into obloquy. We are going to set the whole level of the trade on a higher plane, and we count on the workers to join with us in doing it; to work things out together."

This is what wage-earning women may do for themselves, and without votes.

A Suffragist lecturer here in the District of Columbia talks of women as a class bettering their condition by exercising the franchise. Women are not a class; they belong to all classes. I know middle-class women here in Washington who buy ten-cent muslin underwear for their children at the ten-cent stores. I urged one of them to buy only that having the Consumer's League label, showing that it is made under proper conditions, but she was not moved to consider the sweated labor of the other women. They are not of her class and her vote would not help the sweat-shop toiler. Neither is it to be expected that the votes of the women stockholders in the great industrial corporations (and they constitute 50 per cent. in some) would help the cause of the wage earner. If they feel responsibility let them see to it that no dividend comes to them through the insufficiently paid labor of other women. And then, gentlemen, if the home woman will do her part in molding the character of growing children, another generation will see no scalawags in any business.

The most impassioned utterances of the Suffragists refer to the white slave traffic. They mean commercialized vice. The Anti-Suffragists believe that commercialized vice is in a fair way of being destroyed. The testimony of Mr. Henry W. Finch, Special Commissioner, Department of Justice, before the subcommittee on appropriations in February last, shows what a man-made and man-conducted government is doing to suppress this so-called white slavery.

The work of the bureau under his control now covers 18 states. The Government in this matter is undertaking to prevent the interstate and international transportation of women for the purpose of prostitution. Its chief difficulty is to secure evidence. This Bureau of the Department of Justice is using local men in the various cities to assist in the work of convicting white slavers. Practically all of them are attorneys of standing.

The local man is selected by the special agent of the Federal Bureau, and after the plans have been arranged he goes with the special agent to the chief of police and asks for the coöperation of the Police Department. In 59 cases out of 60 the coöperation is forthcoming. An officer is detailed and the three men then enumerate the houses of ill fame and their inmates. The local attorney is then familiar with the faces of the women, so that he may be in a position to detect a new face and investigate her coming. The proprietors of the houses frequently inform on one another, and even the inmates are often unwilling to see young girls forced into the business, and they, too, assist the white slave officer. The local agent not only prosecutes the violator of the Mann Act, but as a private citizen offers help in the enforcement of state laws; and this work of assisting the Federal Bureau pays an attorney $20 a month on the average, sometimes only $5 or $10. He is interested in the work and frequently sacrifices his personal interests, as the fees are merely nominal. If he is all day in court he receives only $2.50.

The convictions for violations of the Mann Act number about 350 a year, practically one a day; and so usual is the news regarding them that I noticed lately that a report of the conviction of five men, with fines from $100 to $800, took one inch of space in the last page of the newspaper.

Mr. Finch says that to enforce the law in every case there must be a closer coördination between federal and state laws. This we are coming to. A majority of the states have started to get the laws necessary. When they have been gotten the complete suppression of the white slave traffic will be attained. I am quoting Mr. Finch. His bureau has started to organize in each city a public welfare association composed of church societies. All denominations have entered into the work. Last winter associations had been formed in 260 cities, and we expect to have such associations in 500 cities before long.

After a girl is rescued she is given work to do, generally clerical work. When the plan is extended some of them will be employed as domestics in a boarding house established for their housing.

Every girl put to work is paid from $35 to $60 a month. This enables her to clothe herself and pay her board furnished at cost. A woman friend is assigned to each girl for the purpose of visiting her at her office or boarding house and keeping in touch with her.

Women's votes in this matter cannot do as much as preventive educational work.

Many women are coöperating in the federal and state work that I have outlined, and the Anti-Suffragists believe that the Committee on Appropriations will continue to do its part in furnishing the sinews of this war on commercialized vice, and without a female constituency. We are not such impractical idealists as to suppose that any government can abolish this ancient vice by passing a law. Ideals of life and conduct are not raised in that way, and we have yet to hear of girls being saved from a life of vice by votes.

It is claimed by the Suffragists that the red light district in San Francisco was abolished by reason of women having the franchise in California. But the Antis have not heard that the Barbary Coast red light district was a campaign issue. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the women's clubs of the city of San Francisco determined that the red light district should go, and in the usual time-worn way they brought their influence to bear, as hundreds of women's clubs have done for many years, and with marvelous success, in manhood suffrage states. All honor to Mrs. Rolph, of the W. C. T. U., and other organizations that accomplished the enforcement of the law. But it was not done by votes of women or votes of men. A similar work was accomplished in Los Angeles by the Rev. Wiley Phillips and the prosecuting attorney ten years before women had the vote in California.

The Positive Menace of the Indifferent Vote

Miss Lucy J. Price

ALTHOUGH we have strayed away from a good many of the early ideals of the people who formed our government, we yet believe the statement of Mr. Benton, who said that any arguments which are true arguments for or against any law must be based upon the good or evil effects of that law. That is our stand. We believe there are no arguments for or against woman suffrage which shall be taken as true arguments which are not concerned with the good or evil effects of woman suffrage, and we believe that is a thing to be considered.

Miss Jane Addams is reported to have said that the principal reason that they wanted the special committee on suffrage was because the Judiciary Committee was so accustomed to dealing with legalities and laws that it was unable to grasp the fineness of sentiment. We are very glad to be talking to a committee which is accustomed to dealing with legalities and questions of law, because we believe this is such a question, and we believe that the test of this question, as the test of any other legislation, must be whether or not it is going to be good legislation for the country.

I maintain that the efficiency of the electorate will be decreased by granting suffrage to women. There are a great many arguments against it, as you have heard to-day, because of its effect on the family and effect on reforms, but I set forth that the actual efficiency of the electorate will be decreased instead of increased; and that alone should prevent you from taking the first step toward woman suffrage, since you are not willing to take the second, and if you are not willing to take the second step it is worse than useless to take the first step in appointing a committee on woman suffrage.

In the first place, you all know very well the way that the ignorant vote is handled in the cities. I come from a city which is second in number of immigrants who enter it every year—second in the United States. Cleveland is exceeded in the number of its immigrants only by New York City. By the ignorant vote I do not necessarily mean the foreign vote. I mean any vote which does not grasp the subject it is voting upon; and so far as this applies to the foreign vote we are interested in it, and so far as it applies to the seemingly intelligent women we are interested in it. The vote which does not understand what it is voting about is an ignorant vote. In Cleveland the so-called ignorant vote, or foreign vote, is handled, as it is in every other city, by capitalists. One man told me just after our municipal election this year: "I only decided two days before the election whether the 600 men that I vote would vote for Newton Baker or Harry Davis for Mayor."

He votes those 600 men solidly. The ignorant vote is almost always a solid vote, except when it is a Socialist vote, and then it is split from the rest of the vote. Unintelligent women are going to vote just as their husbands tell them to vote, and the intelligent vote is going to be divided. The educated class of women or intelligent women are going to vote as they see fit, and their husbands will vote as they see fit. The intelligent vote will be divided on every occasion and the ignorant vote will be solid, voted by one person.

Then there is the tremendous menace of the indifferent vote. You know that when the small minority of any electorate votes it often means that they are the people who have something for or against an administration personally. We have had that proven every time we vote on the school question in Cleveland. A school teacher said to me, "I wish you knew how we who are teaching and working for the Cleveland School Board wish the women did not vote, because when the minority votes those who do vote have something to gain or something to lose; their children are not passed in school or they want personal friends promoted."

That is inevitably true when a very small portion of the electorate votes, as is the case where women vote.

In Cleveland less than 5 per cent. of the women voted three years ago when there were three women candidates for membership on the School Board.

At the election of November 11, 1913, in San Francisco only one-fourth of the votes were cast by women; 49,833 women registered and 19,678 women voted. In three precincts no women voted. In 49 of the 673 precincts there was an average of less than ten women per precinct. And this is an analysis of the voting registrar of elections.

That is one other way in which the efficiency of the electorate is going to be decreased by women voting.

Without meaning to be unkind to my opponents, I am going to say that I have seen the same ignorance, meaning that they do not understand what they are voting about, on the part of the Suffragist leaders—and those Suffragist leaders are going to be political leaders if you grant women the vote.

I had a debate in Kentucky last winter with one of the very brilliant leaders of the Suffragist society, who said, among other things, that it was urged that women should not be given the vote because they do not understand the questions of government, of finance and of economics. She then referred to the tariff. She said the tariff seemed a perfectly simple thing: "All you have to do is to get the unanimous opinion of everyone whose interests are concerned in the tariff and vote that way." It is perfectly simple.

Last month I had a debate with a Suffragist in Newark, Ohio, who said: "It is a disgrace to Ohio that the Greenland Child Labor Bill should be held up while the courts decided whether or not it is constitutional; what difference does it make whether it is constitutional or not?"

These women are suffrage leaders. The last woman I spoke of has her picture in the papers, and she is heralded as the most brilliant, and I must add, the most dramatic—which is a special attribute in dealing with the suffrage question—the most dramatic and most brilliant dealer with the suffrage question in Ohio. And she is going to be an absolute power in Ohio politics if women are granted the vote there. We defeated woman suffrage a year ago by 88,000, and the Suffragists are now considering postponing the initiative election, which was to be held in November, because of the poor response to their petitions; because of that 88,000 defeat against suffrage. They are afraid they cannot get enough names to the petition, and Ohio is a most liberal state in that regard, as they only have to have 8 per cent. to have an initiative election. And yet the Suffragists say that our great port of entry must suffer from the double ignorant vote, the immigrant vote, that we must follow the leadership of women who think our Constitution amounts to nothing at all, that we must have woman suffrage because some parts of the country where conditions are absolutely different decide we shall have it.

Gentlemen, we do not think you have any right to force suffrage on a state which defeated it, as Ohio did last year, and we do not think the Representatives or Senators of any state have a right to deal, from a long distance, with the problems which we know best how to deal with, because they are right at hand, and to thrust upon us something which we do not want. And so, because we do not think you have that right, and because there is no use in taking the first step, as I said, towards suffrage if you are not going to take the second step, and because we believe a law ought to be passed wholly on the consideration of whether or not it is going to have a good or evil effect, we ask you not to appoint a special suffrage committee.

Casting of a Ballot Not All of Voting

MISS JULIA MORGAN HARDING

I REPRESENT more than Pittsburgh. I represent a vast majority of the women in what Mr. Lincoln used to call the great state of Allegheny. For them I rise to protest against any amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would give the franchise to women. I here register a protest against the infliction of such a responsibility upon the great majority of the American women who are opposed to woman suffrage, the unwilling majority. I will only touch upon one point of this many-sided question, leaving the economic and industrial conditions, which are so important in my district, to other speakers who will follow me.

The history of the nineteenth century is the history of the gradual extension of the franchise, a fact that no one will controvert, but there is another and parallel fact, equally uncontrovertible. In proportion as the franchise has been extended it has been disregarded, neglected, unused.

The silent vote has become a menace to democracy and to civilization. Do you think that women will value the privilege of the ballot more than men? Reliable testimony given wherever women vote has shown that they do not, and successive elections show a continuous diminution in the number of women who go to the polls. After the last Presidential election the New York papers gave statistics showing that Mr. Wilson was elected President of the United States by a vote that was smaller than Mr. Bryan's when he was defeated.

What is called the silent vote is a disturbing politico-social phenomenon that has made some wise thinkers ask themselves if government by representative democracy is a failure. Do you think that it is? Do you think so badly of the way you have managed or mismanaged public affairs and social conditions that you want women to show you how to do better? If you do, why not give it up altogether and give women single-handed a chance? There would at least be some amusement in that.

My suffrage friends have told me that I show less intelligence than an Iroquois Indian, for they thought so highly of the political ability of women that they admitted squaws to leadership in their councils. I happen to know a little of American ethnology and I will remind you that when the Iroquois conquered the Delawares they made the Delaware men wear petticoats, called them women and despised them. And it was that enforced disgrace that made it possible for the early settlers to exist at all during the first days of the colony of Pennsylvania.

To what may you then not be opening the doors? We believe and we know that dropping a piece of paper in a box is not all of voting. Organization is absolutely necessary in party government, and, as Mr. Bryce has so clearly told us, organized political parties are necessary in a democracy. Women will have to organize, either separately or with men, unless the men have all been put into petticoats.

We ask you not to trouble existing conditions, remembering that the silent vote, while dangerous and shameful, is not the ignorant vote, and that the ignorant vote plus the silent vote is what will count in the end.

Union Member Pleads Her Co-workers' Cause

MISS EMMILINNE PITT

YOU have heard much on the subject this afternoon in which I am interested, and my remarks will be brief and strictly in the interest of the wage-earning woman, the wage-earning woman whose name has been used to such an extent by the advocates of woman suffrage, and I desire to raise my voice in her interest and in her behalf this afternoon not to have an added burden placed upon her shoulders, already burdened too heavily.

I have been requested to explain the basis of my position. As secretary of the Iron City Central Trades Council of Pittsburgh, one of the greatest industrial centers of the world, two years and a half as secretary of the Union Labor Committee of Pittsburgh, twelve years' active service with the trades union people, I believe has given me ample opportunity for studying in detail the effect woman suffrage would have upon the wage-earning woman.

Many claims have been made that a majority of the wage-earning women are in favor of suffrage. This, I say, is not true. I make this statement authentically, after personal visits to factories, shops, stores of different descriptions, and among the working women.

Glancing over the situation, I believe it is safe to say that 75 per cent. of the wage-earning women to-day are not interested in suffrage. They look upon the question of voting more as a duty they are exempt from than a privilege they are deprived of. Go into the factories, I beg the women who are so strenuously advocating woman suffrage, go out into the highways and byways and get facts, and do not be theorists.

I believe that the majority of the women to-day fully respect and have faith in American manhood, that it is fairly able to handle the political situations which confront the nation and state. True, the American Federation of Labor has endorsed woman suffrage; but you will please take particular note that on their great Executive Board they have no women representatives; in their important offices they have no women representatives. Should they not be consistent? Gentlemen, I am affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I have been out in active service and know whereof I speak. I believe if the American Federation of Labor would take a referendum vote from the trades unions of this great country you would be surprised to find 75 or 80 per cent. of those men are not in favor of woman suffrage. I believe that they desire to protect the women of the country; I believe they desire to extend to them every courtesy, kindness and consideration, and keep their interest in the home, under the immutable laws of the great Creator. I do not believe there is a more effective place for using the influence of a good woman than in moulding young natures into good womanhood and good manhood to produce the ideal citizenship.

I am sure the trade unions of the United States believe in having the good influence of the home and of the mother in bringing up the citizens we desire, and I would ask you, in the name of American womanhood, for the constructive future of our nation, to consider that it is a subject which 75 or 80 per cent. of them will oppose if it is submitted to them for their personal consideration.

The Failure of Suffrage to Aid Temperance

Mrs. Frank Goodwin

YOUR attention has been called to-day to many phases of the organized opposition to woman suffrage, representing the convictions of thousands upon thousands of women over the age of 21 years, who, with intelligent deliberation, have enrolled their names in formal protest; representing also the large body of women who to-day are carrying a large share of the executive and financial responsibility of hundreds of civic and philanthropic enterprises throughout the length and breadth of the land.

If we who address you to-day indeed represent, as our suffrage friends have declared, the "slave half of human kind," it would not have taken us quite fifty years to find it out. Were this true you would not find us here to-day urging you to allow us to continue in this state of enslavement. We would not be investigating, at every turn, the promises made to women by the advocates of woman suffrage, promises of greater freedom, wider justice, more comprehensive equality.

We are asking, quite reasonably, it seems to me, for the fulfilment now, in equal suffrage states, of promises made a generation ago by pioneers of the equal suffrage movement. One promise held out to many conscientious women was this: "Give the ballot to women and in six months they will wipe out the liquor traffic." Many of you remember that. Believing, before proof was possible, many adherents to equal suffrage were won upon this point alone. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union gave its endorsement as an organization solely because it welcomed any legitimate aid toward its desired end, the abolition of the liquor traffic. It is quite fair to ask what has been done by the ballot in the hands of women to modify, control or abolish the sale of intoxicants, now costing the American people over one billion dollars a year.

The Suffragists charge openly and by written word that the Anti-Suffragists are in league with the liquor interests. We recognize that some of the liquor publications and organizations are opposed to woman suffrage. That neither throws them into our camp nor constitutes us their allies. Their opposition is rapidly dying out. They no longer fear that which has proven itself harmless to them. The United Brewers' Association in a letter to the Plainfield, N. J., *Courier-News*, signed by Hugh Fox, Secretary, states that the Anti-Suffragists have never received nor asked for contributions from them, although he adds, "We have had appeals from the other side."

Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, of Pennsylvania, campaigning for woman suffrage in Oklahoma, a prohibition state, said, in 1910, that "the only way to save the state to prohibition is to carry woman suffrage." And two years later, in an interview in Michigan, reported in the Detroit *Journal*, she said, "Yes, I am afraid that the fear that if women obtain the ballot they will legislate saloons, boxing matches, horse races and even smoking out of existence is costing hundreds of votes. Nothing could be further from our minds. Personally if a man wants to smoke or drink or go to a horse race or see some man batter another it is his business, and none of mine. Suffrage will never attack personal liberties."

Some confusion evidently exists here as to the necessary and frequently inevitable limitations of personal liberty in organized human society.

The Equal Franchise League of Denver, Col., so feared an infringement of this "personal liberty" that it protested, in March, 1913, to the Council of the City and County of Denver against the passage of a bill known as the O'Driscoll bill, making it a misdemeanor to sell liquor to a woman. The fact that this form of legislation was designed primarily for the protection of the child failed of apprehension by the League. The Secretary of the Knights of the Royal Arch, a Pacific Coast liquor organization, stated in the San Francisco *Examiner:*

"We long ago made a thorough investigation in the states where woman suffrage has been tried, and we learned that the liquor business has not been hurt in the least by the woman's vote."

In November, 1912, prohibition was submitted to the voters of Colorado. The Denver *Post* stated that the most ardent workers for the saloons were women. The saloon won by a large majority.

In Boisé City, Idaho, in June, 1912, local option was voted on, and the saloon won by 2,300.

In 1912, in 156 elections on local option in California, 57 were in incorporated cities, and of these 37 voted for the saloon.

In Los Angeles the vote in favor of the saloon was three to one in some districts where registered woman votes were in the majority.

Wyoming, the oldest equal suffrage state, had then not even local option.

Commenting upon these facts, the New York *Times* remarked editorially:

"If the entrance of women into politics is not alleviatory, where is there any gain, either for them or for the nation, in a grant of the franchise?"

The contention here made is not that all women would in voting favor the liquor interests. Far from that. I contend only that upon this matter women divide as men divide, that the average condition remains unchanged, and that the promise that women will purify politics in this particular at least is not kept, because, in the nature of the case, it cannot be.

It is possible to understand that even conscientious women would not vote for prohibition which suffered such signal defeat in Colorado. The promise to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was impossible of fulfilment on the face of it. But why should local option, one method of liquor control favored by many men who are not prohibitionists, suffer defeat in Boisé City and in 37 cities in California? This is certainly not in keeping with the often repeated statement that when women have the vote they will wipe out the liquor traffic.

Meanwhile in eight of the nine prohibition states male suffrage alone still prevails, and Kansas was a prohibition state before it granted the franchise to women.

Whatever may be said for the methods of liquor traffic control, and no intelligent person believes it should be uncontrolled, the fact remains that the strongest efforts to secure that control have been put forth by men, voting alone.

The case of Michigan in this matter has been repeatedly brought to your attention—Michigan, which was first thought to have endorsed woman suffrage, then, on recount, to have repudiated it by a large majority. The following are a few of the figures given in the *Michigan Manual.* I will read but one or two and ask leave to file the others with the clerk.

"Woman Suffrage was defeated in Michigan by a majority of 96,144. Seventeen of the 83 counties in Michigan gave a majority in favor of suffrage. Twelve of these 17 are 'wet' counties and five of the 17 are 'dry' counties."

"There are in Michigan 33 counties which are theoretically 'dry' counties. Of these 33 so-called 'dry' counties, 28 voted against woman suffrage. Eighty-four per cent. of the so-called 'dry' counties of Michigan gave substantial majorities against woman suffrage."

In other words, 70 per cent. of the counties giving a majority in favor of woman suffrage are "wet" counties and less than 30 per cent. of all the counties giving a majority in favor of woman suffrage are "dry" counties.

"Every county voting on county prohibition April 7, 1913, gave a majority against woman suffrage."

The rest I will leave with you.

There are 50 "wet" or non-prohibition counties in Michigan, of which 38 voted against woman suffrage.

In other words, 76 per cent. of the "wet" counties of Michigan voted against woman suffrage as compared with 84 per cent. of the "dry" counties which voted against woman suffrage.

Twelve counties in Michigan voted for or against county prohibition on April 7, 1913, the same day on which woman suffrage was submitted to the electors for the second time.

The total majority against woman suffrage in the 12 counties where the "wet" and "dry" question was the paramount issue on the same day was 12,733.

Six counties, Genesee, Ionia, Sanilac, Lenawee, Clinton and Montcalm, voted for county prohibition by an aggregate of 2,519 on April 7, 1913, and at the same time gave an aggregate majority of 7,026 against woman suffrage.

The other six counties, Emmet, Iosco, Huron, Jackson, Tuscola and Calhoun, voted against prohibition by an aggregate majority of 3,149 on April 7, 1913, and at the same time gave a majority of 5,707 against woman suffrage.

It is interesting to note that the majority of those counties which voted in favor of woman suffrage are small, sparsely populated counties, situated either in the Upper Peninsula, as is the case with Baraga, Chippewa, Gogebic, Iron, Luce, Marquette, Ontonagon and Schoolcraft, or in the pine barrens of the backwoods district of the Lower Peninsula, as is the case with Alcona, Antrim, Benzie, Montmorency and Poscommon.

The *Michigan Manual* of 1913 records these interesting figures:

On page 448: "The majority against woman suffrage in the election of November 5, 1912, was 760."

Page 778: "The majority against woman suffrage at the election of April 7, 1913, was 96,144."

Page 779: "Constitutional amendments relative to the initiative on constitutional amendments was adopted by a majority of 42,404."

Page 780: "The constitutional amendment relative to the initiative and referendum upon legislative measures was adopted by a majority of 66,669."

Page 782: "The constitutional amendment relative to the recall of elective officers was adopted by a majority of 92,331."

"Any charges that the voters in this election were controlled by the liquor interests must therefore apply equally to the voters who enacted these so-called progressive measures."

I would request that this information be incorporated in the report of this hearing.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state that you may round out your statement and add those things if you wish, to complete it.

MRS. GOODWIN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, but I think that will be sufficient for the committee to understand what I was driving at.

The Suffragists want sympathy from you, gentlemen, by the declaration that they desire to help men, to stand shoulder to shoulder with men in the strife of party policies. We who have watched with deep interest the history of the last ten years in regard to such matters as those I have brought to your attention feel with Henry Howland, that "the best way to help a man is to help him keep his faith in himself."

Non-Partisan Woman Wins Where Voters Fail

MISS ELIZA D. ARMSTRONG

MRS. DODGE has kindly brought me forward because I am the oldest member of the crowd. I want to say to you that I began civic work the year of the war. I graduated in June, 1861, with a limited amount of education and a great desire to be doing something. My mother thought the simple way would be to put me into knitting socks and scraping lint for the soldiers who passed through Pittsburgh. At the end of the war a friend of my mother's took me into the Relief Association to dispense charity. From that I went from one thing into another, and was a charter member of the first woman's club organized in Pittsburgh. I think you will call me a progressive for that. Then I was a charter member in Pittsburgh of the Consumer's League. I think there is hardly anything in there that I have not been more or less connected with, and from that standpoint I want to speak to you men to-day. I want to speak to you from my personal and practical experience.

I think if I had had the vote my work would not have been anything like it is to-day.

I remember years ago Miss Harding and another member of our Twentieth Century Club came to me one evening and said, "You have got to go down to Harrisburg; there is danger of the child labor law being defeated." I am a very big woman, consequently they think I am pretty aggressive. They thought if I went down there that bill would go through. I did not know a single Senator or Representative. When I got down there I found five men, neighbors of mine from Pittsburgh; one is your junior Senator from Pennsylvania, another was a steel man, another was head of the coal trust, and the other—I forget what he did. After going to these men and telling them I wanted to add two years to the age of the children, they demonstrated to me that it would not be a very good measure, and I believe in arbitration, so when they said to me "I will give you a year and you go home and we will talk to the others, and two years from now we will see how it works out."

I went up to the office of the "Commonwealth" and I said, "What do you think about this compromise?" "For God's sake, take it. I came here with five men, have been here for a week and haven't got a thing we wanted."

I want to say this, that if I had gone down there like these men, with a vote, I possibly would have had to come home. I got what I wanted. I did not find a man that was not willing to talk on the subject with me, to explain to me what I was asking for was not right, and I had a heart-to-heart talk with them. They did not ask me whether I was a Democrat or Republican or Bull Moose or Progressive. They simply said, "I think a year would be a fair compromise, and in two years if it works well you can have it."

I want to urge our protest against your interfering with our women staying at home.

Misdirected Ideals Lend Ballot False Value

MISS ELLA DORSEY

I HAVE been allowed to come before you this afternoon to represent perhaps the most conservative body of the United States, that is, the branch of the District of Columbia women who being accustomed to viewing matters from a national standpoint because of the companionship of the men who make our national laws, have been obliged to take a national not a local view of this question. We, therefore, beg to protest against the franchise being thrust upon us for several reasons.

We are told that we are not logical. It is not that we are illogical or superlogical, but we use that sixth sense called instinct, which belongs to woman, and can tell you why we do not want it, in addition to defining the reasons against it.

We are told that if the franchise is given to women it will help our country by bettering the condition of women and children, but we do not think it will. We want to see women and children protected, because we know that the mothers of the race and the children of the race are the hope of the state. We think it would not help us along this line to have the franchise for three special reasons. First of all, the last stronghold of chivalry is in the United States. This statement is borne out by the fact that upon our statute books are found laws for the defense of women and children that are not to be found equalled in any country in the world. We are told by foreign women that this is the paradise of women. We know from association with the men of our households, our fathers, our brothers, our husbands, our sons, who come home to us and talk to us of the affairs that mean the betterment of great national conditions, that they will listen to what our instinct prompts us to suggest is needed in the way of advance. They go out with this inspiration into the arena of politics, and make laws that prove a bulwark against the wrongs we are fighting.

We know perfectly well, as good Americans, that the majority must rule in our case. When we stand against the Suffragists it is not that we do not admit and state positively that among them there are plenty of women absolutely intelligent and patriotic also, but we question their judgment. It is the most alarming condition of auto-hypnosis that the country has ever seen, a condition that threatens not alone the welfare of womanhood, but of the country itself. We know that the first step in hypnotism is a glittering object held before the eye. The mind is held oblivious of everything but that object. That object may be tin, or it may be gold, or it may be glass; it may be worth something or it may be worthless. These misguided ladies have held up before their eyes the ballot, which has induced visions and dreams, but the dreams have no reality and the visions are vain. We cannot say that what they see is even a mirage, because a mirage is simply a false picture, an inverted image of a real truth, but these ladies have something before them *that is not.* They turn a deaf ear to the voice of reason, to the voice of experience, and they turn a deaf ear to even the voice of nature, and claim that in the ballot they find a remedy for every wrong that exists against woman or the cause of woman, even a remedy for *all* ills.

Indeed, gentlemen, we beg to urge upon this committee that while this is interesting as the expression of a conviction and the expression of misdirected ideals, we all realize that such is not the case. Suppose the ballot were forced upon us by this minority. As patriots we know, as I said before, from our men that the majority rule is fundamentally necessary to a representative government such as ours. And yet here comes the self-elected, self-authorized minority, who wish to impose upon the majority of the women of the country what we know by that sixth sense is the worst possible thing to have forced upon us. We know that the men of our country have for years been trying to better the ballot as it stands. They are trying in every direction in every state to throw restrictions about the ballot which will put it in the hands more and more of those who are fit and capable and learned in the affairs of state, so that every vote by ballot will be the expression of a conviction. That has been the aim for three hundred years and is what the pioneers of this country, our forefathers, died to protect.

Suppose the ballot were forced upon the women of the country. We know that in the South it would go to the large colored population and in the North it would go to the foreign population, and we know perfectly well that to double the confusion in the present condition would not help us to reform the things we are seeking to reform. Gentlemen, you know that the last dying spark of nature which lies in woman is in that she owns. Do you suppose the wives and mothers and sisters and sweethearts of murderers, crooks and criminals of various kinds would go to the polls with a view to voting their sons, husbands and brothers in the electric chair, in the penitentiary for life, or to the gallows? They would not do that. They would still hope something would come in the future. I cannot see where the reform would come in; I cannot see where the betterment of the conditions would be. I can only see a doubling of the present confusion, of the wrongs that exist. I know the only hope for the ballot in the United States is for the best women in the United States to try to hold up the hands of their fathers, husbands and brothers, to put that ballot where it belongs, in the hands of capable men.

I would beg you also to look upon this fact. The women of the country have a habit of expressing their opinions where they will, when they will and how they will. The courtesy of our men makes it possible for us to discuss every subject not only on the face of the earth, but in the heavens above and the waters under the earth. We are always given a hearing. Since Eve stood in the presence of Adam in the Garden of Eden no woman has ever lacked opportunity to make herself heard. She does not always make herself understood, because she sometimes does not understand herself. Argument is merely a method of precipitating the real purpose of the speaker. We know that in this country, as in no other, all we have to do is to make up our minds what we want, where we want it and when we want it, and then take it to the men of our country, who will lop off, cut off or take off the impossible—because we are inpossible sometimes; we dream dreams too, even without the glitter of the ballot held up before our eyes—we know they will shape what we want, if it is a workable idea, into a law. We know that for forty years past men have been improving the laws—and again I repeat that on our statute books there are laws providing a better protection for women, for children and for the weak, helpless and poor than in any land in the world. We know what folks say, that this tide of foreign immigration is due to the hope the country holds out for the betterment of the condition of everybody concerned. If the men are too old to reap the benefit they are determined to come here and give the children a chance. Therefore it cannot be said that women's votes are needed to better the statutes, but woman's influence is needed to help toward the enforcement of laws when passed. That is part of woman's work, to see that a good law is enforced.

And, gentlemen, we are told by the men of our country that the women of our land are their pride. God forbid that we shall do anything to lower that standard. I appeal to you, gentlemen, to look back over your lives, and in the name of your mothers who reared and cared for you in childhood, of the sweetheart who helped to make youth glad, and of the wife who presides over the home, do not let this be thrust upon us; protect us against it, and help us to maintain our true rights, which are those of being now and always a real inspiration for the best men of our country.

THE PERILS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT

From the Book of WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

"THE political history of each State since the Constitution was adopted shows a gradual enlarging of the electorate so as to eliminate religious and property qualifications, and to reach manhood suffrage. Until recently the electorate in each State was limited to males over twenty-one years and the result has been, as seen in the presidential elections when the vote was the highest, that the qualified electorate in the United States has not amounted to more than 20 per cent. of the total population. If this number is to be increased by allowing women to vote, it would probably increase the percentage of the electorate to 35 or 40 per cent. of the total number of the people resident in the United States. As we must govern by a majority or a plurality of those who have the right to vote, we may properly say that this must always be a government by a minority of all the people of the country.

"These are mathematical facts that no one can escape, and it thus appears that there is a large part of the people who are governed and in whose interest government is maintained, to whom it is impossible safely to extend the electoral franchise. No one proposes to do so. No one proposes, for instance, to extend the electoral franchise to children or minors, to aliens who live here and do not wish to be naturalized, to aliens who live here and who cannot by law be naturalized, to the insane, or to those who have shown themselves by crime to be unfitted to vote.

"These facts do not make against government by the people as we understand it. It only shows that approval of so-called popular government is not worship of a fetish. We are not in favor of the rule of all the people as an end desirable in itself. We love what is called democracy not because of the name, but because of what it accomplishes. We are in favor of a rule by as many of the people in a democracy as will secure a good government and no more. The result will be good because it secures the happiness of the individual. Government is a means to an end, and the means are to be selected on account of their adaptability to the end.

"I will illustrate the point I am making if I say that women should be accorded the privilege, and given the duty, of voting, not because they have an inherent and inalienable right to vote, but because, by giving them the franchise, their own welfare or that of the whole body of the people will thereby be promoted. If the advocates of female suffrage can show that they, as a class, have been unjustly prejudiced by governmental measures or by lack of them, and that they could remedy this by their vote, or if they can show that, by the extension of the franchise to women either the general government would be better or stronger, or the existing electorate would be improved in its average moral tone, its intelligence, its political discrimination, its patriotism and attention to political duties, they make their case; and they do so because they thus establish that the addition of them to the electorate is a useful means to secure the happiness of the individuals.

"While it is impossible to escape the proposition that we have not a government by all the people, in the sense that we do not include in those who exercise the power of control all the people, or a majority of them; nevertheless, in fixing our federal franchise we do seek to make our voters in a true sense representative of all the people. The theory of manhood suffrage is that after a man becomes twenty-one he represents in a true sense some of the same class as himself—that is, of those similarly situated—who are related to him. The husband represents his wife; the father the children; the brother the sister, and even though we make our electorate as wide as possible by giving all women of adult age the franchise, we must still have the principle of representative authority in the practical carrying out of popular government. Jameson Constitutional Conventions, Sect. 335, 336, 337; Andrews' American Law. Sect. 122."

Pages 14-17 "Popular Government, Its Essence, Its Permanence and Its Perils."

Good Intentions; Way Stations; and Practical Efficiency

SUFFRAGISTS have a way of explaining their line of procedure by saying "We intend" or "We don't intend." Unfortunately a very slight study of sociology ought to convince these reformers that what they "intend" may form a very small part of what results. And, after all, who cares what they "intend"? Something more than good intentions is required in government, as well as in art and letters—some special adaptability. It is possible for people with good intentions and insufficient experience or capacity to accomplish considerable damage—as much very often as when it is intentional. When suffragists talk with an appearance of great modesty of "way-stations" and "preparing oneself for new duties" one may be permitted to smile. Why not prepare oneself first for some of the old duties? All this may be born of good intentions, but one cannot help remembering none the less how:

"The Devil did grin
For his favorite sin
Was the pride that aped humility."

The whole question of suffrage is simply the practical one of efficiency. Woman thinks she is fitted for the sphere of politics. Perhaps she is, but obviously she is still more finely adapted to the domestic and social sphere. Some one said once that our parts in life should be decided by "vocation, not by volition." Woman is at present trying to choose hers through volition, ignoring her evident vocation. The result is distinctly second rate.

Women Thinkers and the Academy of "Immortals"

IT has been suggested that women's names should be added to the list of "Immortals" conducted under the auspices of the American Academy and National Institute of Art and Letters. Julia Ward Howe's name is already justly upon the list. Prof. Brander Matthews of Columbia University has suggested the following names: Ida Tarbell in Research, Mary Cassatt in Painting, Mary Wilkins Freeman, Margaret Deland and Edith Wharton in Fiction. It is gratifying to think that of these five women pre-eminent in special lines, two are declared Anti-Suffragists, Ida Tarbell and Margaret Deland, and of the other three the views must be moderate, since they have not been claimed by suffragists. This shows how the illusion which prevailed during the lifetime of Julia Ward Howe sufficiently to be embraced by strong and original minds like hers, has gradually been dissolved under the light of knowledge and no longer claims the best thinkers among women. It is being relegated to a group of self-interested women and a sheep-like crowd of followers who are obsessed by the past and have not readjusted their minds to modern conditions and modern needs. The most advanced thinking woman to-day is not a suffragist. She has got beyond it.

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